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ABSTRACT

This report presents a brief review of the programs of the international assistance agencies in the field of urban and regional development. It covers the major activities of the last decade or so, and assesses the posture of the agencies at the start of the Second Development Decade in relation to urbanization in the less developed countries. The report draws on information gathered during discussions with agency staff members at headquarter points and country missions, as well as on the literature in the field. The primary focus is on the work of the United Nations Center for Housing, Building and Planning; the Public Administration Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the World Health Organization. It will, in addition, consider the activities of the Organization of American States' Division of Urban Development, which has been especially active in the areas of research and training. Also reported here are the activities of USAID, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Inter-American Development Bank. This survey does not attempt to be exhaustive, either in terms of the agencies covered and discussed or with regard to the full range of projects now in operation or recently completed. It has instead sought to distill the essence of the contribution made by the international community by discussing only exemplary projects and the most characteristic modes of operation of the agencies. [For related documents in this series, see UD 013 731-UD 013 744 for surveys of specific countries. For special studies analyzing urbanization in the Third World, see UD 013 746-013 748.] (Author/SB)

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An International
Urbanization Survey Report
to the Ford Foundation

Urbanization in the Developing Countries

The Response of International Assistance

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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This working paper was prepared as supportive material for an International Survey of Urbanization in the developing countries, which was organized by the Ford Foundation late in 1970 and was completed late in 1972. The purpose of the Survey was to provide findings and recommendations to guide the Foundation in making informed judgments on its future participation in programs related to the urban condition in the less-developed countries.

The Survey was directed neither to perform nor to commission original research. Its work was to be reportorial analytic, and indicative of program choices. To serve these objectives, the Survey was essentially a field operation in which the staff travelled widely in the countries where the Foundation maintains field offices and drew not only upon its own observations but upon the experience of Foundation personnel assigned to the developing countries. The staff's own field notes on phases of urbanization in specific countries were expanded into working papers both to record observations and to clarify the deductive processes and the analyses of data which were to form a demonstrable basis for the Survey's conclusions. Additional working papers were provided by Foundation personnel with a depth of field knowledge, and by consultants expert either in specific countries or in topics of special interest.

The Survey working papers and special studies were originally intended only for internal use. It became evident, however, that the body of material had values which argued for wider exposure. Accordingly, the Foundation is publishing the papers for those with special country or topical interests and for those interested in the material as a whole.

The working papers carry disclaimers appropriate to the circumstances of their preparation and to the limitations of their original purpose. The reader should not expect to find in them either the product of original research or a comprehensive treatment of the processes of urbanization in the particular country. Rather, they are occasional papers whose unity derives from their use as exemplary and illustrative material for the Survey.

But unity of form and substance is not the measure of their value. Each report and special study is an essay on some aspect of urbanization in the developing countries. In most instances, they are what a good essay should be—unmistakably personalized and therefore reflective of the insights and the convictions of informed authors.

The International Urbanization Survey

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ED 079464

Urbanization in the Developing Countries: the response of international assistance

by

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International Urbanization Survey

The Ford Foundation

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PREFACE

This report presents a brief review of the programs of the international assistance agencies in the field of urban and regional development. It covers the major activities of the last decade or so, and assesses the posture of the agencies at the start of the Second Development Decade in relation to urbanization in the less developed countries. The report draws on information gathered during discussions with agency staff members at headquarters points and country missions, as well as on the literature in the field.

The agencies that have been most active can be grouped into three broad categories: the multilateral agencies, which provide training opportunities and technical assistance in urban planning, housing and building materials research, and infrastructure feasibility studies; the bilateral agencies, which provide a similar array of technical assistance, and which in addition make capital available for the execution of selected housing and infrastructure projects; the development banks, which provide capital assistance primarily, and occasionally technical assistance with urban infrastructure pre-investment studies.

Within the multilateral groups, the headquarters units of the United Nations and several U.N. agencies have

been particularly prominent in urban affairs. This report will focus primarily on the work of the United Nations Center for Housing, Building and Planning; the Public Administration Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, and the World Health Organization. It will, in addition, consider the activities of the Organization of American States' Division of Urban Development, which has been especially active in the areas of research and training.

Among the bilateral donors, the United States Agency for International Development has provided the greatest part of both technical and capital assistance to urban areas. This report will concentrate on the activities of USAID, which are broadly representative of the range of assistance offered by the agencies of several other donor countries.

Only two of the development banks have been significantly active in urban affairs: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which has recently assumed a larger role in the field, and the Inter-American Development Bank which is of interest because of its long-standing involvement with housing finance.

This survey does not attempt to be exhaustive, either in terms of the agencies covered and discussed or with regard to the full range of projects now in operation or

recently completed. It has instead sought to distill the essence of the contribution made by the international community by discussing only exemplary projects and the most characteristic modes of operation of the agencies.

THE AGENCY VIEW OF URBANIZATION*

For all of their diversity of mission, manpower, policy and programming approaches, the international assistance agencies have a generally consistent view of the broad character and consequences of urbanization. At the very least, there is increasing awareness that the particularly rapid growth of cities during the last two decades is a portent of an urban world to come. The rate and scale of urbanization in the developing countries are viewed, if not with alarm, then with serious concern by those agencies which are most active in development assistance as such. The United Nations, in discussing the role that urbanization will have in the Second Development Decade suggests that:

> .....between 1960 and 1980 the developing world could add to its urban settlements more than the total urban population of the developed world today. The houses, power systems, sanitation, schools, transport, in fact the whole complex pattern of urban living created over several centuries would have to be doubled in just twenty years.**

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* This paper was written in early 1971; minor revisions were made a year later (ed. note).

** United Nations Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. Housing Building and Planning in the Second United Nations Development Decade. E/C.6/90. New York, U.N., July 24, 1969. p. 11.

The World Bank frames the probable scale of urban growth in more dramatic ways. Referring to the "crisis of the cities" in an address to the Bank's Board of Governors, Robert McNamara points out that:

> The scale of the problem is immense. During the decade of the 1950's, the urban population of the developing world expanded by about 50 per cent. Today, the major cities are doubling in size every decade. By the year 2000, their total will be some 500 per cent higher than today. That means that from 1.2 to 1.6 billion more people will be living - if 'living' is the appropriate term - in these sprawling centers of urban decay.*

The widespread recognition that the growth of cities appears to be an inevitable aspect of world population increase is but one element of the current concern with urbanization. Equally apparent and troubling to the international agencies are the problems of traffic congestion and transportation inadequacies; of growing unemployment and underemployment; of the severe and constantly widening gap between the need for housing and the effective demand of the urban poor; of the relentless deterioration in urban water supply, sewerage, and drainage systems; of the deficits across the full range of social services.

At the same time, both the processes and products of

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* McNamara, Robert S. Address to the Board of Governors (World Bank). Washington, D.C., September 29, 1969. Washington, D.C., IBRD, 1969. p. 17.

national development planning are being scrutinized more closely by the agencies and by the countries themselves, with an increased interest in regional development, often centered on urban growth poles, emerging as one result.

There is a growing awareness that the phenomenon of urbanization presents a complexity of problems which past experience suggests cannot be effectively addressed through the traditional and more usual sectoral lines of assistance alone. The "urban crisis" is all the more distressing in light of the generally held view that urban centers are important arenas for the process of social development and change within the less developed regions of the world.

Urbanization is not, however, a new area of discussion among the agencies. Even before the start of the First Development Decade, the U.N. noted that "....problems have arisen through prolonged unplanned and uncontrolled growth which has resulted in increased overcrowding....exaggerated metropolitan concentrations, industrial over-concentration, urban sprawl, administrative confusion, and various difficulties attendant upon the provision of....facilities to keep pace with the rapid growth of the city and its periphery." This same discussion goes on to summarize

the situation in much the same terms as those now used in the current urban debate:

> While these problems are easy to detect, they are everywhere difficult to solve. In underdeveloped, low income countries, a proper solution would require the provision of houses for a population that cannot afford to pay for them, the finding of of stable and adequately paid work for countless illerate and unskilled people, and the establishment of large programs of family counselling, education and social protection in a situation where there is little prospect of obtaining the necessary resources, at least in the near future.*

This early glimmer of recognition was not uniform among the agencies, nor among the various sections, bureaus and branches within each agency. In 1957, the U.N. Report on the World Social Situation** included a comprehensive and incisive analysis of urbanization in "under-developed areas"; the 1958 U.N. study of the Future Growth of World Population***did not discuss the rural-urban transition but focused instead on regional population growth rates and resultant increases in continental density. By 1969, the opening statement of a U.N. population study noted: "The most conspicuous feature of today's accelerated world population growth is its even greater rapidity of urbanization.****

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* U.N. International Survey of Programmes of Social Development. New York, U.N., 1959. p. 169.

** U.N. Report on the World Social Situation. N.Y., U.N., 1957.

***U.N. The Future Growth of World Population. N.Y., U.N., 1958.

****U.N. Growth of the World's Urban and Rural Population 1920-2000. Population Studies No. 44. New York, U.N., Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1969.

One could argue that to some degree, urbanization has come as a surprise to the agencies. It has been a phenomenon overlooked during the course of framing policies and programmatic responses to the challenges inherent in attempting to speed the development process. The demographic studies which project the scale of urban growth over the next decades, and the exhortatory statements, are largely of recent origin. This emerging perception of the significant shift of population from rural to urban areas is evident in a paper which describes the policies and programs of the Department of Social Affairs of the OAS, an agency dealing with the most urbanized of the developing continents:

> ....When the Alliance for Progress was conceived in 1961, more than half the population of Latin America was considered rural. Now, however, in less than one decade, a significant shift has occurred and more than 50 per cent of the population is urban.
>
> Although not originally envisioned in the Charter as such, urban development has become a major concern of the Department's activities, in recognition of the growing problems of rapid urbanization and in line with the Alliance goal 'to increase the construction of low-cost houses for low-income families in order to replace inadequate and deficient housing and to reduce housing shortages; and to provide necessary public services to both urban and rural centers of population.' As the Secretary General of the OAS has said, 'It is time to say bluntly that Latin America cannot hope to achieve the economic development and social-well-being it seeks under the banner of the Alliance for Progress unless it arrests the decay of its cities....We must begin im-

mediately to weave urban strategy into the fabric of the Alliance for Progress.'*

In recent years, the international agencies have been working in a climate which recognizes the importance of urbanization in the development process. This has been reflected in the increased number of speeches, conferences and seminars which focus on the subject. Between September 1969 and the end of 1950, the United Nations alone organized ten conferences and seminars dealing with urbanization. These ranged from a symposium on the general issue of the "Impact of Urbanization on Man's Environment" to a seminar on the specifics of "Improvement of Slums and Uncontrolled Settlements." Host countries for the conferences included the U.S., Denmark, Rumania, Columbia, Thailand, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Malaysia and Austria, with representatives from developing nations attending each one.**

In addition, important statements have been made by key figures in the assistance agencies. In two successive addresses to the U.N. Economic and Social Council, Robert McNamara focused his remarks on the subject of urbaniza-

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* OAS. Urban Policies in Latin America, (document presented in Copenhagen, Denmark, May 25-June 10, 1970). Washington, D.C., OAS, Program of Housing and Urban Development. Dept. of Social Affairs.

** United Nations. Bulletin of the Center for Housing, Building and Planning, Vol. 1, No. 1. New York, U.N., October 1970. pp. 14-33.

tion. In 1969:

> I have mentioned the steady drift today from the countryside to the cities. That is a phenomenon the world over, but its effects in the underdeveloped countries are even more serious than in the developed nations.
>
> The cities of the developing countries are the centers which ought to serve as the basis of both industrial growth and social change. Instead, with a growing proportion of their inhabitants living at the margin of existence, and the quality of life deteriorating for all, the cities are spawning a culture of poverty that threatens the economic health of entire nations.
>
> We simply do not yet understand the dynamics of urbanization in sufficient depth to be fully certain of the most efficient solutions. Should the developing nations use their limited resources in an effort to motivate villagers--through intensive rural development--to remain in the countryside? Or should the funds be invested in massive urban infrastructure? If the latter, should heavy investments be made to expand the older cities, or is it wiser to build entirely new ones? We do not know. But one point is clear: the problem must be dealt with on a comprehensive national basis. An integrated country-wide strategy of rural-urban development is essential. It must integrate population planning, regional specialization, and industrial growth, and it must emphasize those economic policies which will optimize and distribute more equitably the national income.*

In 1970, McNamara announced the establishment of a new division within IBRD, which would be concerned

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* McNamara, Robert S. Address to the U.N. Economic and Social Council, New York, October 27, 1969. Washington, D.C., IBRD, 1969. pp. 6, 7.

primarily with urban development. Pointing out that previous involvement had been largely on a project by project basis, he declared the Bank's intention to seek "....a more comprehensive view of the problems of cities: a strategy by which the Bank Group can support programs of overall urban development rather than merely isolated and unrelated projects."*

In contrast to this growing interest in urbanization within the operating agencies, the findings of the international task force groups--especially those of Pearson** and Prebisch--are notable because urbanization is given such scant attention. It is viewed primarily as a background to other development issues, and the role of cities in the process of nation building is not fully explored. Both Pearson and Prebisch cast the growth of cities in terms of the flow of redundant workers from the land, increases in urban unemployment, and the build-up of social tensions, as an accompaniment to the phenomenon of urbanization. Both view "over-concentration" as something to be avoided, and both suggest adoption of spatial

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* Society for International Development. "World Bank President Announces Major New Policy Initiatives." Survey of International Development, Vol. VII, No. 10. Washington, D.C. December 1970. p. 1.

** Pearson, Lester B. Partners in Development: Report of the Commission of International Development. New York, Praeger, 1969.
Prebisch, Raul. Change and Development: Latin America's Great Task. Washington, D.C., Inter-American Development Bank. July, 1970.

strategies based on the development of intermediate centers to serve as intervening settlement opportunities for potential migrants to the larger cities.

The organized assessment of past performance and future prospects, as exemplified in these task force studies which coincided with the close of the First Development Decade, has thus far been solely the product of donor agencies, and represents, in large measure, the views of the donor countries. To some degree the evaluations reflect dissatisfaction with the results achieved so far, and the desire, in the words of Pearson, "to clarify the effort and propose policies which will work better in the future."

While there appears to be some dissatisfaction on both sides--for the donor, concern that the impact of assistance to urban areas, as well as in other development sectors, is not as great as the funds expended would warrant, and for the recipient, concern that enough aid, on the right terms, is not forthcoming--the crucial issue is that neither side has yet been able to identify the critical pressure points which can be addressed to induce rapid and significant levels of development activity in the urban areas of the developing world. McNamara makes this point very well in a recent discussion of the whole range of current development issues:

> We do not want simply to say that rising unemployment is a 'bad thing' and something must be done about it. We want to know its scale, its causes, its impact and the range of policies and options which are open to governments, international agencies and the private sector to deal with it.
>
> ....We do not want simply to deplore over-rapid urbanization in the primary cities. We want the most accurate and careful studies of internal migration, town-formation, decentralized urbanism and regional balance.
>
> These issues are fully as urgent as the proper exchange rates or optimal mixes of the factors of production. The only trouble is that we do not know enough about them. I would go further and say that, up to a point, we do not even know how to think about them. Just as the censuses of the 1950's helped to alert us to the scale of the population explosion, the urban and employment crisis of the Sixties are alerting us to the scale of social displacement and general uprootedness of populations which are exploding not only in numbers but in movement as well. But we are still only picking up the distress signals. We still do not know how to act.
>
> We should be frank about this. As we enter the Seventies, in field after field, we have more questions than answers. Our urgent need is for new instruments of research and analysis with which to dispel our ignorance of the social dimensions of economic change and help us formulate a more comprehensive strategy for the decade ahead.*

Against this background of increasing agency awareness of the causes and consequences of rapid urban growth, we must consider as well the impact of the attitudes of

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* McNamara, Robert S. Address to the Columbia University Conference on International Economic Development, New York, N.Y., February 20, 1970. Washington, D.C., IBRD, 1970. p. 10.

recipient nations on agency action. The recognition, on the part of the agencies, that assistance to urban areas has not been as effective as originally envisioned, and that different and more innovative approaches might be needed to deal with the unprecedented scale and scope of the urban predicament is in itself noteworthy. It may well be, however, that in the immediate future and with few exceptions, the international agencies will be able to alter significantly the present pattern of assistance only if the countries themselves are sympathetic to such change.

There are several reasons for this, not the least being that in many respects, agency programs and projects must be framed in direct response to the priorities established by country professionals and political leaders, as reflected in the official requests for development assistance. In the case of the multilateral agencies such as the United Nations, member states also exert strong influence concerning the type, timing and scale of assistance that will be made available to a particular country. Balanced coverage of member states and application of programs developed in line with a common denominator acceptable to all nations are important criteria for multilateral agency action.

The initiative and leadership of the international agencies is dependent, therefore, on the degree to which

changes in assistance techniques, shifts in emphasis and a re-ordering of priorities are accepted by the recipient nations. To understand fully the present and likely future posture of the agencies, with regard to development as a whole and urbanization in particular, one must also consider the current view of the recipient nations and its impact on agency policy formulation.

THE NATIONAL VIEW OF URBANIZATION

Perhaps the best indicator of country interest in urban growth and development is the manner in which it is handled in recent national development plans. Usually presented in a chapter entitled "Housing and Rural and Urban Planning" or "Social and Community Services" the development of the nation's cities is cast in terms of the resources needed for social overhead, infrastructure projects, or subsidized urban housing schemes. Without exception, the major part of these plans is devoted to discussion of targets for the traditional development sectors and the strategy required to achieve these goals.

Although the subject of rural development is not explicitly dealt with as a "sector," most of the discussion within the plans bear on the process of growth and change within rural areas. Thus, chapters falling under the broad heading of "Programs of Development" usually include the

subjects of agricultural production, animal husbandry, dairying, fisheries, forestry and soil conservation, agricultural labor, irrigation and power, village and small industry. In short, while the spatial aspects of rural and urban development are generally neglected in favor of sectoral discussion, the rural development elements of the plan are inevitably more comprehensive and detailed.

The traditional economic arguments for sectoral planning, for limited social overhead investment, and for the emphasis on agriculture-related development need no re-statement here. While the latest generation of national development plans have tended to include discussions on the importance of balanced regional growth, and have often outlined strategies for spatial development such as the establishment of new growth poles, most planning thought at the national level still focuses largely on sectoral growth. The short shift given spatial aspects has not, of course, gone unquestioned. One observer suggests:

> Economic planning in poor countries suffers from one common weakness: they do not as a rule include a plan for use on the implicit assumption that if an appropriate allocation of capital is obtained, management, labor and land will automatically follow.*

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* Valoria, Leandro. "Education for Planning: the Special Circumstances in Low Income Countries". Philippine Planning Journal, Vol. 1, No. 2. Manila, April 1970. (Citing Charles Haar, Benjamin Higgins and Lloyd Rodwin, in "Economic and Physical Planning: Coordination in Development Areas". JAIP, Vol. 24, No. 3. Washington, D.C., 1958 p. 167).

If the rural-urban demographic balance is also taken as a gauge of interest in urban affairs, then the relatively low priority given the phenomenon of urban growth--at least at the national level--is understandable. Many countries of the developing world are preponderantly rural in population terms, and likely to remain so in the short run.

The basic political implications of this situation are fairly clear. At the very least, governments depending on a rural constituency for support are likely to be particularly concerned with the needs of the rural masses, and press for the adoption of programs in the rural areas.

Against this background of current national development theory, it is not surprising that the national effort affecting terms of sectoral growth--industrialization to alleviate urban unemployment, or, expressed in the desire to increase the level of development outside of cities--rural development to stem the tide of migrants. Country requests to the international agencies for development assistance may thus include only an implicit response to the urban predicament, reflecting the current opinions, strategies, and priorities of the recipient governments.

This notion is succinctly expressed in a recent report by the U.N. Secretary General on urbanization in the Second

United Nations Development Decade. In discussing the urban-related development goals for the Decade that should be adopted at the international level, he includes:

> The organization by all international and national agencies concerned of a campaign to stir up public concern over the problems of accelerating urbanization and the steps needed to reverse the trend towards deepening crisis. This is, after all, the crux. Without general awareness of the urgency of these problems it is unlikely that the proper action will be taken.
>
> It is significant that in the questionnaires sent out by the United Nations to Governments in order to canvass their views on development priorities for the 1970s, there was virtually no mention of the overriding impact of the urban crisis. Similarly, among the international agencies, the urban problem tends to fall into the interstices between the interests of agencies devoted primarily to health, education, industrialization or farming. What is lacking is the sense of process, of interrelation, of a general crisis gathering most grievously in the urban sector where more and more of the world's people will eventually be living.*

This sense of process and interrelation has been conspicuously absent in the planning, programming and execution of capital works projects located in urban areas. The components of development--roads, ports, power supply elements, railways and terminals, industrial infrastructure and airports--have traditionally benefited from sporadic central government transfers and have, in addition, been

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* United Nations. Housing, Building and Planning in the Second United Nations Development Decade, op. cit. p. 55.

strong candidates for sectoral aid from the international agencies. While these projects have met the criteria of individual cost-benefit analysis, little attention has been given to the integration of such urban-centered project investments within a wider development framework. Projects of this nature are technically elaborate and expensive to execute. In light of the scarce country resources, they are often thought of in terms of international funding. Accordingly, project design is likely to be tailored to the criteria known to be important to the agencies.

The possibility of international support for urban-centered infrastructure projects has led to competition for aid among the nations of the developing world, and even among the cities within a particular country. Cities able to obtain the largest share of international resources are viewed as those most likely to maintian the highest level of development momentum, at least as this is envisioned in development plans.

In fact, it might well be that this competition for international support has had a dampening effect on urban development. A basic cause has been the misconception of the scale of international resources available to any single city. When matched against a realistic assessment of need, they are meager in the extreme. Yet, much develop-

ment planning and programming is done in the expectation of bounty from the international cornucopia. Small wonder that shortfalls from development targets are common, and that urban plans are invariably out of date and irrelevant to the contemporary development situation; the plans and targets are all too often tied to unrealistic expectations of assistance, and cannot be executed with limited local resources.

If the processes of urban development are to be speeded so as to keep pace with the population surge to urban areas, then a more realistic view of local resource allocation and mobilization, and the role of international participation in local development, must be adopted by the professionals and political leaders at national as well as local levels. Thus far most cities of the developing world have not yet come to grips with their unique problems of urban facility deficit, rapid and unprecedented population growth, and the lack of resources needed to deal effectively with the current situation.

This present country perception (or misperception) of the character and purpose of international assistance is a root cause of the failure to address squarely the dilemma of increasing pressure on the urban environment and a scarcity of resources to cope with it.

THE PERCEPTION OF INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE

Most discussion of the characteristics and purposes of international assistance include some reference to the concept of "institution-building." The model for the staff groups within agencies, and for planners, politicians, and administrators within the developing countries, has been the development history of the cities of Europe and North America. The approach to urban planning, to the organization and management of operating units within government, and to the structuring of curriculum in academic institutions has been influenced by decision-makers who accept their image of the growth of the cities in more developed countries as a pattern to be followed.

The concept of the "modern" city contains many familiar ingredients: freeways and subways; high-rise buildings and parking structures; civic centers and university complexes; recreation areas and open space systems. The urban centers of the developing world, however, can only adopt this model with difficulty and at a cost which is extraordinarily high in relation to the current general level of development.

Attempts to maintain existing centers on the pattern of the cities of Europe and North America, and to provide facilities at the scale needed to match urban population growth have not been completely successful. Deficits in infrastructure and housing supply have increased, and urban plans have had little

influence on the spontaneous locations of a large part of the urban population. A new urban model may be required, based on a realistic assessment of needs in relation to local initiative, and paying attention to the special cultural characteristics of each nation. There are indications that the urban professionals are beginning to share this view:

> Africa's cities are largely European creations, which do not relate to the needs of an African population. Daby Diagne, one of Senegal's top urban planners, said 'We will have to achieve a synthesis of what is modern and our traditions to create something more African. In this country we are trying to develop a "Senegalization" of architecture.*

In many respects, "Senegalization of architecture," is the least difficult aspect of the problem. Transportation, water supply, sewerage, drainage and solid waste disposal represent areas where the greatest innovation and imagination will be required.

If the last decade is any indication, then little progress will be made in arresting wide-scale urban deterioration as long as the more developed city continues to be the primary frame of reference. Past urban projects have been overwhelmed by the scale and pace of population growth; traditional master plans, developed with scant regard to resource analysis, have been reduced to exercises in futility.

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* Jim Hoagland. "Urbanization: New Problem for Africa", International Herald Tribune, November 29, 1971. p. 7.

Professionals and political leaders responsible for urban development have frequently sought refuge in the possibility that somehow external assistance for capital investment on the scale required would become available, so that the goals of their development plans and programs could be achieved. In fact, the scale of external aid has been, and will probably continue to be, marginal. But the possibility that capital aid might be forthcoming has fostered an attitude of dependency on the international agencies for the resources needed to provide the basic environmental services.

These two factors--the model of the city in more developed countries and the possibility of external capital aid--have colored the impression that the recipient nations have of the character and purpose of technical assistance. At the most basic level, technical assistance for urban planning, feasibility studies and engineering surveys has been viewed as a necessary precursor to capital aid. The country decision to request technical assistance from a particular international agency is often based on the potential for further capital assistance. Thus bilateral projects are often viewed as the necessary first step to large-scale development loans. And among the multilateral groups, a study prepared with contributions from the UNDP Special Fund is frequently seen as a likely prelude to IBRD action. In some cases scarce foreign exchange is

used to retain well-known consulting firms for the preparation of pre-investment studies in the hope that the involvement of these firms will influence agency decisions on capital aid.

One could argue that the competition for capital assistance has had a negative effect on the evolution of less expensive technology and standards which are more directly related to the special conditions and unique requirements of the developing world. This is apparent in the crucial field of infrastructure technology, where a misconception of the scale of external capital available to any single city has led to the adoption of the high-cost urban technology of the more developed countries, with little regard for the optimum mix of labor and materials in the local situation. An implicit assumption has been that the criteria for capital aid are based in part on the "modernity" of the systems, and that the most advanced and "best" are those which reflect the current engineering practice of the more developed countries. Requests for assistance are therefore invariably based on a stated need for such systems.

Alternatives to the adoption of modern technology, however, for practical purposes do not exist. Few attempts at innovation have not been sufficiently successful to warrant wide-scale application in the countries or

acceptance by the international agencies.

It is clear that two parallel efforts are required. Modification of present technology is necessary to make it more responsive to the needs and capacities for implementation that exist within the country. And at the same time, increased effort must be devoted to the development of new techniques more closely tailored to the resources of the nation.

As long as the country view of urban development includes external capital as a major input, however, significant changes in the approach to design and implementation of infrastructure schemes will probably be slow in coming. Moreover, scant attention will be paid to the whole question of mobilization of local resources, except as it is related to user charge schedules that may be required by a lending agency.

If this is so, and present trends in the formulation of urban development programs suggest that it is, then requests for technical assistance in the short-term will continue to emphasize the skills and techniques that the international agencies have made available in the past, but which have, in fact, proved only marginally effective in alleviating the urban predicament. We can expect to see more requests for assistance in the preparation of comprehensive plans, modified somewhat to include some social

science inputs and a gesture towards regionalism; feasibility studies for water supply, sewerage, and drainage which are based on the standards and engineering practices of the more developed nations; support to academic institutions in the form of advisors and fellowships, which will tend to emphasize techniques that have not thus far proved adequate in the local situation.

The traditional professional approaches to problems of urban development--master plan preparation, engineering and pre-investment studies--are based on the implicit assumption that the drive to implementation lacks primarily the essential programs which would make investment decisions more rational. This has led to a tendency to stress the consumption side of the resource question rather than the equally important mobilization and production side.

Urban development at a level significant enough to ameliorate present and projected deficits must, in fact, be financed through the mobilization of metropolitan resources, with augmentation by central government transfers. The scale of international capital available will continue to be marginal, and must be viewed solely as an augmentation to local resources. It must be regarded as "catalytic" rather than as a substitute for local initiative.

More effective international assistance would seem to require a metropolitan resource orientation. This suggests that local self-help programs, geared to resource mobilization, must be initiated, implemented, and supported where appropriate by international assistance. The international agencies increasingly recognize that a goal of aid must be to expand the local resources available for needed urban systems. It is not yet clear that this goal is accepted within the recipient nations.

TWO DECADES OF URBAN ASSISTANCE

Urban projects are not new to the international agencies. They have provided the less developed countries of the world with technical assistance in urban planning, housing schemes, and improvement of construction techniques and building materials for more than two decades. Since about 1960, the effort has been augmented by capital assistance primarily for infrastructure and housing.

But the participation of the international agencies has not taken place within a specific and comprehensive urban strategy with clearly defined priorities and goals. Instead, their contribution has been almost ad hoc in character, with each project viewed as a discrete element within a total package of development aid delivered to a recipient country. Involvement has thus taken place as

part of the overall activity of the agency. It has been more responsive to the general mandate to "assist" rather than directed toward a conscious effort to evolve a coordinated urban approach which is integrated with other development sectors.

The United Nations, for example, has provided technical assistance in the urban field to member countries from its earliest days. In the last 15 years alone, United Nations experts have assisted in the planning of 65 urban centers, of which 41 are capital cities.* The major thrust of this work has been physical planning of centers having discrete administrative boundaries. There have, however, been notable attempts in recent projects to relate this planning activity to regional urban systems and national development policy.

Broadly speaking, these efforts have taken place without reference to an established strategy for urban assistance within the U.N. One criterion for assistance in the past appears to have been balanced coverage of member nations in keeping with the character and mandate of the organization. During 1968, for example, a total

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* U.N. Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. Technical Cooperation in Housing, Building and Planning: The United Nations Technical Cooperation Programme in Housing, Building and Planning. E/C.6/103. New York, U.N. June 2, 1969. p. 8.

of 62 countries and territories received assistance in some aspect of housing, building and planning, either as part of short-term missions, or as major long-term projects.*

Observers note the sameness of these U.N. projects in terms of project scope, staffing patterns, and end product. Some would say that for all of its years of involvement, the U.N. has not been able to contribute as much as it could toward the solution of perceived urban problems, possibly because the scope of each project is constrained by the terms of reference submitted by nation requesting assistance. The lessons of experience cannot therefore be effectively applied to current activities or used as a basis for future assistance programs.

The focus of participation of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) has been primarily in the field of housing and related infrastructure, with capital assistance for project development one major contribution. USAID has used a combination of direct loan funds, investment guarantees, and PL-480 funds to assist in the financing of recipient country housing programs. IDB has called

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* Ibid. p. 7.

upon ordinary capital resources and its Fund for Special Operations for infrastructure projects; it has financed housing projects primarily through the Fund for Special Operations.

In the last decade, USAID loans for housing and related infrastructure amounted to more than $175 million. IDB loans ran to more than $320 million, of which $300 million was contributed by the United States. The U.S. Congress has, in addition, authorized $550 million in investment guarantees for Latin America, and $130 million in guarantees for the rest of the world.*

In Latin America alone, this level of investment resulted in the construction of 413,000 units by 1967, of which 36,000 were covered by the investment guarantee program. At the same time, public agencies and private interest in the recipient countries were building an a additional 400,000 units annually. The effort has not measured up to the task. A recent USAID paper notes that:

> Latin America's population explosion creates an extraordinary demand for new housing. Despite record-breaking building activity, at the annual rate of 500,000 units, the housing deficit has

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* Statistics from Harold Robinson's, "The Role of the Agency for International Development in the Financing of Houses in the Developing Countries" (Interregional Seminar on the Financing of Housing and Urban Development, Copenhagen, Denmark May 25--June 10, 1970). Washington, D.C., USAID. October 1, 1970. p. 7.

climbed to about 15 million living units.*

A criticism often directed at the housing programs of USAID and IDB is that as designed, they provide housing assistance for families with incomes that are much above those of the vast majority of the population. Even self-help schemes financed by these agencies have proven to be too expensive for the in-migrant population that now resorts to shack living on the unimproved periphery of urban areas. Nonetheless, housing loan and investment guarantee programs have continued to play a significant part in the USAID and IDB involvement with urban affairs.

The strong interest of the international community in infrastructure, particularly water supply, led to assistance totalling more than one billion dollars during the 1960s. This total, composed of $180 million in bilateral grants and $895 million in loans from the development banks and bilateral agencies, covered both urban and rural community water supply programs during the decade.** The share allocated to urban areas has not been enough to keep pace with the needs generated by rapid urban population growth. The World Health Organization estimates that only 25 per cent of the world's urban dwellers presently

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* Robinson, Harold. Housing and Urban Development Programs, Latin American Bureau. Washington, D.C., USAID. October 1967.

** WHO. Community Water Supply Program. A23/P&B/5. Geneva, WHO. April 10, 1970. p. 16.

have water supplied in house or courtyard; an additional 26 per cent are supplied from public standpipes. In order to meet the targets set by WHO for the Second Development Decade, which would raise these figures to 40 and 60 per cent respectively, an expenditure of $7.5 billion would be required over the next ten years.*

As early as 1963, a WHO survey of 75 developing countries identified the scarcity of resources for construction of water supply schemes, and for their effective operation and maintenance, as the most significant cause of deficiencies in community water supply.** WHO has itself supported technical assistance and research projects; in 1969 alone, it provided staff or consultant services to community water supply projects in 89 countries.*** Since 1960, it has also served as the executing agency for 16 community water supply master plan and feasibility studies financed by the Special Fund of the United Nations Development Program. This pre-investment work accounted for UNDP expenditures of more than $13 million and

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* Ibid. p. 6.

** WHO. Urban Water Supply Conditions and Needs in Seventy-Five Developing Countries. Geneva, WHO, 1963.

***WHO. The Work of WHO 1969. Geneva, WHO, 1970.

counterpart contributions of more than $8 million. It is expected that during the next two years an additional 16 studies will be initiated.

Only six of the 16 studies had been completed by the middle of 1970. Two in India focused on the water supply and sewerage of Calcutta; two in Ghana dealt with Accra-Tema; Ceylon and Morocco accounted for the remaining projects. An additional six in Turkey, Malta, Senegal, Uganda, Ceylon and Morocco accounted for the remaining projects. An additional six in Turkey, Malta, Senegal, Uganda, Ceylon and Ivory Coast were scheduled for completion by the end of 1971.

According to WHO, this pre-investment work has resulted thus far in international transfers of less than $6 million from IBRD and bilateral agencies. National government transfers to metropolitan areas have accounted for more than $86 million, and negotiations with the international agencies--primarily with IBRD--for loans totalling more than $40 million are under way.

Progress in the UNDP projects is but one aspect of the international efforts covering urban water supply, sewerage and drainage. There are, in addition, technical assistance projects supported by other multilateral sources, and capital aid projects funded by regional development banks and bilateral agencies. For all of the

effort the cities of the developing world have not been able to maintain construction programs for urban infrastructure systems on the scale needed.

Infrastructure development is of course costly, and the funds required to implement the recommendations of all pre-investment studies have not been available, either in the public purse of the countries involved, or from the major capital project financing agencies.

Some would argue that the resources expended for many pre-investment studies--man years of technical assistance and counterpart effort, country support to technical advisors, backstopping on the part of the assistance agencies themselves--have been less productive than they might be. For if not directly related to the financial and administrative implementation capacity of the recipient nation, the studies have little relevance to the actual development situation.

The infrastructure schemes which are usually designed are based on engineering criteria and technology that are not fully suited to local conditions, given the level of resources available. The approach taken in formulating the schemes reflects an implicit view, held not only in the recipient country but in the assistance agencies as well, that technology and engineering criteria of the more developed countries can be transferred without adaptation

to the developing countries. In fact, the technology which has proven useful and realistic for Pomona is not necessarily appropriate to Poona.

Training has played an important part in technical assistance programs as a major element of the institution-building process. Participant training programs are usually included in all USAID projects and funds are earmarked in all UNDP Special Fund projects for fellowship programs. These programs are in addition to the on-the-job training that occurs during the execution of a technical assistance project.

The candidates selected for training invariably attend courses or participate in study tours held in the more developed countries. For USAID participants, a United States institution is usually the host; U.N. Fellows may designate institutions in other countries. The range of subjects and institutions covered has been wide: tropical architecture at the Architectural Association in London, urban planning at M.I.T., geography at Edinburgh, construction technology in Poland. While some degree programs are available, it is more usual for a trainee to attend a short course of study ranging from three months to one year.

There are no hard and fast rules in this training process. A university acting as a USAID contractor on a

field project, for example, may set up a special back-up study program for participants associated with that project. More often the assistance agency will simply help a participant identify an overseas course that comes closest to fulfilling the objectives of the project's training component. And often a course, though dealing with urbanization, is not directly related to the specific and special problems of the developing world. Thus a participant stands a good chance of learning to deal with situations that have little relevance to his responsibilities at home.

There are exceptions. The Organization of American States (OAS) has supported two centers in Latin America charged with the training of urban specialists. The Interamerican Center for Housing and Planning (CINVA), located in Bogota, has in past years been especially concerned with housing design, planning, productivity and construction techniques as they apply specifically to Latin America. The OAS sponsored Interamerican Program for Urban and Regional Planning (PIAPUR) in Lima, deals primarily with urban planning within the framework of general development planning in Latin America. In both centers Latin American teachers, familiar with the particular problems of their continent, have provided training for young graduates and mid-career urbanists which is

directly related to local conditions.

These traditional and accepted lines of assistance to urban areas--planning, housing development, infrastructure investment and training--have not played as important a role in the activities of the international agencies as have assistance efforts in more familiar development sectors. Total urban effort has been slight in terms of impact on the environment of the cities of the developing world. The relatively low priority given to urbanization in the past years, however, is giving way to a growing recognition that the city can provide a vital and positive motive force to the process of development.

Present plans call for CINVA to be closed in mid-1972. Inter-American Information Service on Urban Development, organized to assemble and disemminate technical information to facilitate policy formulation and progress development, will be created in its place.

THE ADDITION OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT STAFF GROUPS

Concern for the consequences of explosive urbanization in the developing countries can be gauged, to some extent, by the recent restructuring of a number of the international agencies. New staff groups have been added to their tables of organization and charged with the task of establishing an urban point of view.

Perhaps the oldest of these very young urban units is the U.N. Center for Housing, Building and Planning (UNCHBP). It is located within the Department of Economic and Social Affairs and serves as a focal point for conducting housing, building and planning activities within the Secretariat, and for the coordination of these activities with other agencies in the U.N. family. The Center was established in 1965.

In its brief history, the UNCHBP has become well-known to international urban specialists. The Center provides the secretariat and necessary documentation for the ECOSOC Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, and for any ad hoc study groups which are established in these areas. It also functions as the executing agency for UNDP projects and for projects financed under the U.N. Regular Program of assistance in physical planning, housing development and building technology. A professional staff, which numbered less than 30 in 1970, is divided between a Technical Cooperation Branch and a Research and Development Branch.

The Technical Cooperation Branch is responsible for reviewing requests for assistance, recruiting advisors, assisting in formulating requests for assistance, and monitoring projects currently in operation. In 1969, the services of 150 U.N. experts were made available to 51

developing nations. In addition, 83 fellowships were awarded as part of the training component of the technical assistance projects, and 26 short-term missions were mounted by interregional advisors attached to the Branch's staff.

The Research and Development Branch consists of four sections: Building, Planning, Housing, and Documentation and Reports. These sections are responsible, within their specific areas for the continuing analysis and evaluation of world trends and problems in the urban field. Each section has established a small research program, to be completed in-house, with the assistance of selected consultants. The results are to be used as a basis for policy formulation and programming technical cooperation projects. Thus far the Branch has done little work in formally evaluating the results of major assistance projects that have been completed under the direction of the Center.

Another important element of the work of the Branch is the dissemination of research results and the knowledge gained from technical cooperation projects through seminars, symposia, special campaigns, and reports. The basic background papers on urbanization for the U.N. Conference on the Environment were prepared by the R & D Branch, for example, as are the urbanization sections of a large number of periodic U.N. reports, such as the World Social Situa-

tion report, the Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development, and the Annual Report of the Secretary General to the General Assembly.

In identifying items for its research agenda, the Center has chosen to interpret its mandate broadly. Rather than following only the expected lines of physical planning, urban design, and housing unit and site design, its concern has been expanded to include key economic and social aspects of urbanization. Housing production, for example, is viewed not only as a design issue, but also in terms of the financing and legislative mechanisms needed to ease the flow of capital into this sector. The development of urban land is seen from the point of view of the constraints and incentives imposed by government policy, as well as in terms of the physical planner's professional palette. And the process of urbanization is considered from the standpoint of the economics of investment in urban areas, including the crucial development question of the costs and benefits of allocations to new growth points as opposed to investment in existing metropolitan centers.

A good deal of this research bears on issues that one would expect to be addressed by other agencies of the U.N. family. The spatial allocation of national resources is a logical area of interest for the U.N. Center for Development Planning, Policy and Projections.

The impact of industrial investment on urban growth could be a subject of concern for UNIDO. The costs and benefits of investment in urban infrastructure is an issue which should elicit substantial interest from WHO.

In fact, none of the other U.N. agencies stray very far from their sectoral areas of concern. The inter-sectoral, spatial view of development has a limited role in the various divisions of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the member U.N. agencies. One could argue that the sectoral interests of the agencies are appropriate, given their specific terms of reference, and that the UNCHBP could serve a useful function as a point of coordination for these urban-related activities. Coordination among the agencies is, however, the function of the Housing and Urbanization Work Group of the Advisory Committee on Coordination, and this Work Group has thus far been more effective in avoiding duplication of effort than in integrating activities so that they become complementary parts of the assistance work of the U.N.

Coordination, not only of research programs but also of assistance activities, poses a problem for all of the international agencies which include an urbanization unit within their organization. While sectoral divisions can be put into neat compartments of organization charts, the effect of action in one sector on other sectors in the

real world cannot be overlooked if assistance is to have maximum impact. Concern for urbanization entails concern for the effect that agricultural development, industrial location, educational policy and population programs have on the process of urban growth and change. The urban groups within the agencies appear to be well aware of the need for a system of inter-sectoral coordination. Equally, however, they recognize that as a short-term measure, a degree of useful coordination can also be effected on an ad hoc basis during project preparation and that a formal system is not an absolute prerequisite to program action.

Coordination is a subject of some concern to the two urban divisions recently established within IBRD. In developing a program for future Bank involvement, the Urban Projects Division has worked in conjunction with the Urban and Regional Economics Division as well as with those departments concerned with more traditional sectors of Bank lending. The Economics Department was expanded to include the Urban and Regional Economics Division in 1969 and the Special Projects Department added to Urban Projects Division in 1970.

The two divisions will have different roles in the Bank's future activities. The Urban and Regional Economics Division will be concerned primarily with research that can be used in policy formulation. As presently conceived,

this division will analyze relevant experience in Bank projects, and review research by other agencies and institutions, as well as carry on a limited program of original research designed to support project activity by augmenting work being undertaken in other institutions.

Staff members of the Division have also participated in preliminary economic reviews of seven cities--Bombay, Istanbul, Singapore, Bangkok, Kingston, Taipei and Djakarta--and in several country economic missions in cooperation with the Urban Projects Division and other departments of the Bank.

The Urban Projects Division is responsible for reviewing and evaluating requests for assistance to urban areas and for monitoring the implementation phase of Bank-supported projects. These have in the past been in infrastructure development, such as port development, water supply and sewerage systems, urban roads and mass transit. The Division also serves as the executing agency for selected UNDP Special Fund projects, for example, the traffic and transportation feasibility study that was recently carried out in Bogota.

An expanded role for the Bank in assistance to urban areas is discussed in a recent paper.* Pointing out that

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* IBRD, "Urbanization Sector Working Paper," IBRD, Washington, June, 1972.

Bank lending has been primarily directed to national level institutions and semi-autonomous agencies, the paper suggests the need for a partial refocusing of effort on municipal institutions, by tying technical assistance to project lending for urban areas. The strategy outlined for greater Bank involvement is to increase assistance to urban transport, to enter the housing field and through these to address the overall problems of urban land use.

Specifically, increased emphasis is proposed in the following areas: urban mass transit, particularly bus systems; urban roads; improved traffic engineering and controls; terminal facilities for passengers and freight. In the housing field, which would represent a new undertaking for the Bank, the following: participation in site and service schemes; improvement programs for existing low-income settlements; assistance to housing finance institutions, including the provision of needed seed capital. The proposals are rounded out with suggestions for Bank participation in schemes for the integrated expansion of urban areas; detailed appraisal of technical standards for urban projects which would lower costs without adversely affecting efficierey; and the expansion of the Bank's operational research program.

In USAID, urbar staff groups have worked within the area bureau structure for some time. The Latin America

and Vietnam Bureaus have been most active, although urban projects for both capital and technical assistance have been executed in each of the Bureaus in the past. The Latin American Bureau was traditionally responsible for the massive housing loan and investment guarantee programs, and has in addition commissioned urban planning studies in almost every country of Latin America.

But it is only recently that USAID has expanded its organization to include an Urban Development Staff. This new unit has been in place since September of 1970. It is charged with identifying an appropriate role for the Agency in the field of urban development.

In trying to develop an urban position for USAID, the Urban Development Staff has embarked on a program of visits to 16 countries selected for the exemplary character of their urban pattern. According to those involved, these are opinion surveys in which the guidance of key officials and observers of the urban scene has been sought. In addition, the staff has held seven seminars at academic institutions around the U.S., with the purpose of tapping the expertise of professionals who have had exposure to urban affairs in the developing countries. It is expected that a report of findings and recommendations will be presented to the Administrator's Advisory Council in mid-1972.

There have been two significant responses to the particularly rapid urban growth in Latin America among the

agencies especially concerned with that continent. The OAS, which has for some time been operating an Urban Development Program, has expanded and upgraded it to a full Division of Urban Development with the Department of Social Affairs. The new Division will take increased responsibility for an in-house operational research program dealing with housing productivity, local urban administration and urbanization as a component of national development planning. It will, in addition, backstop the PIAPUR center and the proposed Inter-American Information Service on Urban Development, and plans to establish seven field teams which, it is hoped, will provide a more rapid response to requests for training and technical assistance.

IDB has had, for some time, a technical assistance staff section directly responsible for its housing and urban development programs. But it has also set up a number of advisory groups which report directly to the President of the Bank and deal with subjects considered important to the functioning of Bank programs. One of these is concerned with investment strategy in urban areas. It has recently completed a comprehensive survey of the investment potential and need in Latin America, with a view to establishing detailed program guidelines for future Bank activity.

The new urban staff groups that have been added to

the tables of organization of the international agencies usually operate under a well-established and explicit agency policy for urban development. In the case of USAID, for example, this policy goes back to the Foreign Assistance act of 1961, as it is reflected in the following excerpt from the USAID Manual Order dealing with urban development and housing:

> ...A basic and pressing problem facing every developing country is how to cope with the unprecedented growth of urban areas. It is estimated that the total population in less developed countries will increase by 40 per cent in 15 years--but the number of urban dwellers in these countries will double in the same short period. As agricultural productivity increases, the migration to cities will accelerate.
>
> An urban crisis of this magnitude--and no other word adequately describes the situation--is giving rise to a host of development problems. Effective local and regional planning, adequate land-use controls, essential municipal services, and housing are all urgent, high-priority needs.
>
> A development program which ignores the problem of urbanization is not complete. National programs which will facilitate private and public activity, development of institutions, trained personnel and processes required to plan, regulate, and build urban areas--and to provide such urban areas with an appropriate level of municipal services will contribute to the achievement of economic and social development goals.
>
> ...AID is prepared to assist developing countries concerned with the rapid growth of urban centers and deal with this problem in as orderly and efficient a manner as possible. Solutions adopted should be those which make the greatest possible contribution to the nation's economic progress, political stability, social order, and equity among its citizens.

To the extent possible, AID assistance should be directed to the building of institutions and capabilities rather than the building of physical structures.

...There is a need for broad economic and social analysis of country situations as they pertain to urbanization and housing, AID is prepared to provide technical assistance for such analysis when resources are not available from the U.N., other donor countries, or private foundations.

...AID is also prepared to give assistance to countries in the form of financing sector studies in depth of urban and housing needs designed to develop priorities and indicate where resources should be concentrated in order to be most effective..

...Accepting the importance of strongly encouraging investment in the immediately productive sectors, there is no question in our minds that a substantial, simultaneous investment in housing is a legitimate and proper part of a development program. Housing demands will rise with income, and the satisfaction of that rising demand is a proper part of the increase in the standard of living that should take place in a developing economy. A substantial part of the savings that will be mobilized by local savings and loan associations--or their equivalent--would not arise in any other way. To put such savings into housing is not to divert them from alternative investments. The possibility of home ownership is undoubtedly a strong incentive for consumer savings. Without this incentive, such funds tend to be expended for other consumer uses, rather than saved. U.S. loans and investments to the locally emerging savings and loan institutions stimulate the effective growth of such institutions. In doing so, they both increase the funds immediately available for home loans and foster the habit of saving in the form of home equities.*

A 1969 IDB policy statement raises come questions about

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* USAID. Manual Order No. 1612.83.1. Washington, D.C., USAID. August 16, 1966. pp. 1-3.

the Bank's past program emphasis on infrastructure and housing development. After describing the characteristics of the urban scene in Latin America, this statement goes on to suggest the need for an expanded Bank role in assistance to these areas, including increased aid in urban planning, administration, and financing; development of community facilities; and the fostering of increased community participation:

> The phenomenal growth of Latin America's urban centers has been accompanied by a vast range of socio-economic problems which stifle their economic productivity. This growth promises to continue at an unprecedented rate in the face of the demonstrated incapacity of the cities to absorb even their current population. The key role of the cities as the centers of growing industrialization of Latin America is threatened by the housing crisis, inadequate transportation, communication and other economic facilities, and gaps in the availability of health, educational and basic community services. Above all there persists a continuous lack of planning for urban development, and inadequate instruments for urban administration and financing and for developing civic participationin the solution of urban problems.
>
> The Bank, through its housing, potable water supply, and sewerage disposal programs, has contributed significantly to the development of national institutions and programs designed to mobilize domestic resources and efforts for the solution of grave problems in these fields. It is timely, however, without impeding the current work program of the Bank, to expand the scope of operations of the Bank, to incorporate other essential components of urban development so that the problems of the cities can be con-

sidered in an integrated fashion...*

While these statements provide a clear mandate for the urban-related work of the international agencies, they do little more than set a general direction. They are all-encompassing, and nonspecific. In the words of an urban professional associated with one agency, the crux of the problem lies in transforming the "platitudes of policy into the realism of practice."

Most of the new urban staff groups have set themselves, as a first task, the inventory and assessment of previous agency activity. They have also been concerned with delineating and defining precise operating guidelines, a task which has proven to be difficult to all. To some extent, this may merely be a reflection of our still limited understanding of the ways in which urban development variables interact. Fifteen years ago, at a Ford Foundation sponsored conference on urbanization, Coleman Woodbury made this point:

> ...Urban planning is still being done too much in the dark--on the basis of inadequate facts, half-truths, hunches, impressions, guesses, and prejudices instead of carefully arrived at, tested knowledge including that from competent research into anatomy, physiology and pathology of the urban body--physical, economic, political and social...

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* Inter-American Development Bank. An Operating Policy for Urban Development. Washington, D.C., BID. July 17, 1969. pp. 1, 2.

> without pressing the medical analogy too far, I can't resist observing that any person who flunked a comparable set of questions on the anatomy, physiology and pathology of the human body and then undertook to practice medicine probably would be liable to criminal prosecution...*

A good deal of knowledge and experience has been gained in recent years, but not enough progress has been made to convince urbanists--within the international agencies and in the countries themselves--that present patterns of assistance can be applied without modification in the years to come. The urban groups of the agencies rightly stress the need for expanded operational research programs and continued project evaluation. They recognize that more comprehensive understanding of the urban condition is necessary before more accurate diagnosis of urban problems can be achieved. Many would agree with Robert McNamara, who felt concerned enough to suggest that "...our knowledge of how best to deal with the whole issue of urbanization remains primitive."**

The agencies appear to have adopted a "learning

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* Woodbury, Coleman. Urban Development and Planning in the United States. Conference on Urbanism, Ford Foundation, October 10-11, 1956. New York, Ford Foundation, 1956. pp. 17, 19.

** McNamara, Robert S. Address to the Board of Governors (World Bank), Copenhagen, Denmark, September 21, 1970. Washington, D.C., IBRD, 1970.

through doing" attitude in their responses to requests for assistance. Assistance has been additionally hampered by shortages of experienced project personnel and consultants, by recruitment procedures which absorb a good deal of time, and by the difficulties encountered in exchanging pertinent and timely project experience inter-regionally.

THE ASSISTANCE PROCESS

As noted, the headquarters of international agencies are responsible for the formulation of policy, which then serves as an operating framework for their regional and country staff units. Backstopping and recruitment of staff for field projects are, of course, expected to be undertaken by headquarters as well.

Headquarters also serves as an intermediate transfer point in the flow of information among the field units. It is apparent that there is little official dialogue among the field groups themselves. The lessons of experience are usually digested at the headquarters level, then transmitted back to country level missions. Decisions as to what information is transmitted, in what degree of detail, and to which missions, are taken almost solely at headquarters.

While it can be argued that this arrangement has advantages in that it obviates an excessive lateral flow

of paper, and overcomes the unfortunately common problem of communicating across possibly tense borders--it is much easier, for example, to communicate between Islamabad and New Delhi via New York or Washington--the present system also effectively curtails, with few exceptions, timely interaction among field groups dealing with the same or similar problems. Such interaction is not, of course, entirely absent. Regional meetings of UNDP Special Fund project managers are held on an ad hoc basis to exchange views and information. And USAID advisors have been known to travel to countries within their region to discuss details of proposed or on-going urban programs.

But, by and large, the field mission's view of the world is the country with which they are directly concerned and the headquarters point to which they report. This limited outlook can bear directly on the effectiveness of the field team's work. It is not at all unusual for an agency to recruit an advisor who, although professionally competent, has little or no experience with the conditions of less developed countries. Because there is no organized provision for lateral communication, the advice and counsel of professionals in other countries who are dealing with similar problems is not directly available. Instead of building on solutions already found, albeit elsewhere, the less experienced advisor must often cover the same

ground, thus slowing the incremental progress of his project.

At another level and for a different purpose, the U.N. has introduced an intermediate step in the interchange of pertinent data, through the regional and interregional seminars and working group meetings organized and convened by the Regional Economic Commissions and other operating units, such as the UNCHBP and the Public Administration Division. The meetings are used as a means of stimulating thought and discussion among international assistance groups and among planning and implementing agencies in the recipient countries of each region.

To date, the Regional Economic Commissions themselves have been relatively unable to deal with urbarization. They are not usually staffed with specialists who take a comprehensive view of the phenomena of city growth, and as a result, regional seminars held under their auspices often focus on narrow subjects without regard to important inter-relationships. This is the case with the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) which has been primarily concerned with housing finance and low-cost housing construction techniques often to the exclusion of the other relevant variables. The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East does, however, have a Housing, Building and Planning Section located in the Industry and Natural

Resources Division. In 1971, this section had only three authorized staff positions to deal with the urban problems of a region which ranges from Afghanistan to Japan.

The "country pipeline"--the flow of requests for assistance from a country, and the response to those requests, either with technical or capital aid--is of major concern to all agency headquarters. To the development banks, for example, programming assistance and pre-investment studies are important elements in maintaining the momentum of overall bank growth. If the country pipelines are not kept full, then funds earmarked for urban development must be rapidly diverted to competing sectors. This was the experience of one regional development bank in 1969, when there was a 40 per cent shortfall in its urban investment targets. The funds for capital projects and related technical assistance in feasibility studies had been programmed, but agreement within the recipient countries as to which of several possible projects should be undertaken, and at what scale, came more slowly then originally envisioned, and resulted in project slippage.

A steady flow of projects helps in planning the work program of assistance groups. An increase in the number of project requests and in the number of projects approved might, of course, also lead to a larger allocation

of the agency's total assistance budget to urban programs. To help keep the pipeline open, the headquarters of agencies within the U.N. family, for example, make available regional and inter-regional advisors for short missions to selected countries that are potential recipients of project aid.

The advisor is ostensibly sent to aid the country in programming its assistance requests to the U.N. But the advisor can also attempt to elicit interest in subjects of particular concern to headquarters. The country decision to request assistance in a particular aspect of urban development might well be related to the persuasiveness of the inter-regional.

While the UNDP Resident is charged with coordination and control at the country level of assistance activities, he actually has limited control of the regional and inter-regional advisors once they are in his country. They are sent to the country by headquarters of a U.N. agency, and report directly to that headquarters. The preliminary discussions between a U.N. agency and a country's urban-counterpart agency can thus, in practice, by-pass the Resident Representative until the formal request for assistance is made. By influencing country requests the regional and inter-regional advisors can affect the final distribution of UNDP allocations from its "indicative level of assistance." The recent reorganization of

UNDP, however, makes it likely that the Resident Representative will have more control over all assistance related activities, since he is now responsible for country programming.

The time lag between a request for assistance and the actual transfer of capital or fielding of a team of technical advisors has been the subject of much concern within the banks, bilateral agencies, and multilateral assistance groups. Current experience suggests that the process takes, at the minimum, 18 months, unless the circumstances of the request are extreme, i.e., in the case of disaster, such as flood or earthquakes.

The lead time on projects submitted to USAID in Washington is nominally a year but it also takes several months to design and refine the project before it is submitted. If the project is approved, it must often wait for Congress to appropriate the necessary funds before any steps are taken toward implementation.

The case of U.N. technical assistance is unusual and interesting because of the complexity of the process and the length of time needed to get a team or individual advisors to the recipient country. It often takes as long as three years between the first country request and the starting up of the project in the field.

There are generally six major steps preparatory to

the actual assistance effort, although there may be even more if the project is particularly complex or if one of the participants is laggard.

Very briefly, and without detailed attention to the intricacies of each step:

1. The country forwards its request for assistance to the UNDP Resident Representative. This first request may have been developed in one of a number of ways: with the help of an inter-regional advisor form the U.N.; with the assistance of an advisor to a related project within the country, who identifies a need for an additional project; as a result of a short-term mission which suggests the project; by a development or planning agency within the country, unassisted by international advisors.
2. The UNDP Resident Representative reviews, comments on and forwards the request to headquarters. Among the criteria which guide his evaluation are the cost as this relates to the indicative level of assistance which is available to the country in question, and the priorities for assistance which are set during country programming.
3. After review at UNDP, project requests are forwarded for comment to either the U.N., or to the agency within the U.N. family that will execute the project

if it is approved, e.g., WHO for water supply studies, IBRD for transportation studies. In the U.N., the Office for Technical Cooperation (OTC) serves as the clearing house for requests, which are reviewed further by the substantive agency which will probably execute the project, e.g., the UNCHBP for comprehensive planning studies. OTC reviews the comments it receives and recommends approval of the request, disapproval, or the dispatch of a mission to the country to assist in clarifying points of the request that are in question. If the request is approved, then the arduous task of recruiting specialists to fill the advisory posts needed for the project starts. This is in itself a lengthy and time consuming process which requires at least three further steps:

4. A job description for each post is prepared by the agency within the country which will serve as counterpart to the advisors. The description is often prepared with the assistance of an agency of the U.N. family at the time that the project request is prepared. These job descriptions are also reviewed at U.N. headquarters or at the headquarters of the agency concerned, modified if necessary, and then approved for circulation.

In some cases, the job descriptions are circulated among the member countries of the U.N. family, who may evaluate applicants and then submit the names of approved candidates to the agency which will execute the project. Many countries have not set up a procedure for canvassing and evaluating applicants, however, and because immediate recruitment for a project is often necessary, the names of candidates can be drawn directly from a U.N. roster of professionals who have expressed interest in international work and who have credentials appropriate to the project at hand.

5. Candidate applications are reviewed and evaluated by the U.N. executing agency for the project. The applications of the most promising candidates are identified and forwarded to the country requesting aid. The country selects one and indicates which are the preferred alternates.
6. Contract negotiations are initiated between the U.N. and the candidate who has been selected. If he is unavailable for some reason, the U.N. repeats the negotiations until someone is committed to the job.

It is not surprising that the scope and coverage of U.N. technical cooperation projects as executed are often

substantially different from what was envisioned in the original terms of reference for the project. By the time the dual hurdles of project negotiation and recruitment have been overcome, the situation in the country requesting aid may well have undergone substantial change. When an advisory team is ultimately in place, it will in effect, have been brought together to deal with a situation that existed three years before. One head of a U.N. agency responsible for executing urban projects observed that he would be quite concerned about the effectiveness of projects under his control if the original terms of reference were carried out to the letter by project managers in the field.

Lags between the initial country request and the agency response are of course going to exist however the U.N. or any other agency operates. Some would suggest that the real cause of the problem is not the time factor, but rather the incorrect or incomplete analysis of the root cause of the situation to be alleviated by international aid. This analysis must be sufficiently accurate and fundamental to stand the test of time.

The U.N. has addressed this very evident problem of response time, at least in regard to some projects. Under the recent reorganization of UNDP, the Resident Representative in each country has authority to approve projects which are budgeted up to $100,000. This will allow assistance on

a project to build up over time from a relatively small scale, to a situation where, if warranted, a Special Fund allocation can be made, permitting assistance of wider scope and greater depth.

Attempts have also been made to smooth the process of filling assistance posts, so that advisors can be put into the field as rapidly as possible. Under the system of individual recruitment, the selected candidate is often no longer interested or available when the U.N. is finally in a position to make a firm offer. Few candidates can wait for the months involved in the process of review, evaluation and, selection, hoping for a positive response to their application. The U.N. must then determine the availability of the next candidate.

Two techniques for speeding the process of filling field posts are now being used on a limited scale, at least by the U.N. agencies that deal directly with urban projects. When timing permits, i.e., when the termination of one project comes at about the same time that a new project is to be started, the UNCHBP, for example, will negotiate a lateral transfer of advisors to the new one, thus by-passing a number of the time-consuming steps associated with recruitment. A second technique is to field a small core team of senior advisors and augment their skills by contracting with a consulting firm to provide any additional profes-

sional services that are needed.

The lateral transfer of advisors from one project to another, while shortening the response time, has in addition a second distinct and important advantage. It makes possible their buildup of a cadre of urban specialists experienced in dealing with the often unique situations prevalent in the developing countries. The advisor who is recruited for a single, short-term assignment makes little further use of his accumulated knowledge, which is then lost forever to the agencies committed to development assistance.

As conceived, there are merits in both schemes. As presently practiced, the disadvantages, when measured in terms of project effectiveness, can be many.

Shifting advisors from one project to another can be an unproductive exercise, if the advisors bring with them experience that cannot easily be fitted to the new situation. This observation can be made about the U.N. assistance team which is now planning the earthquake torn city of Chimbote in Northern Peru.

Several members of the Chimbote team were involved in the planning, again under U.N. auspices, of another center destroyed by earthquake--the Yugoslavian city of Skopje. They were moved to Peru partly because of the apparent similarities in the two situations: both cities

had been virtually levelled by the disasters and both required rapidly developed and incisive guidelines for the immense and immediate task of reconstruction and resettlement. But in fact, the only thing they had in common was an earthquake.

Skopje is a relatively slow-growing Eastern European city which has proven responsive to the meticulously framed concepts and administrative controls which are included in its development plan. Chimbote is, in contrast, a typically Latin American city from many points of view; its population, which has doubled in less than ten years, is still growing rapidly and the people of Chimbote are now busily resettling themselves in locations of their choice, without regard to the land planners' notions of "highest and best use."

The Skopje experience brought to Peru, by the U.N. team may thus have only limited bearing on the Chimbote situation. If the pace of the assistance effort appropriate to Skopje is maintained, it is also possible that the final development plan will, in large measure, reflect the spontaneous locational decisions that have already been taken by the vast majority of the residents of Chimbote.

The technique of limiting the number of advisors who are placed in the field through direct recruitment by the support of a consulting firm to a core group, has, on

the surface, a number of attractive aspects. It does, in the first instance, relieve the assistance agency of the administrative burden of recruitment. It also presumably increases the speed with which a complete professional team can be put into the field. A single contract with a firm that includes staff strength in many disciplines effectively eliminates the need for lengthy negotiations with many individuals. The consulting firm ostensibly has a tailor-made and highly efficient team as well, since under ideal circumstances, its staff will already have worked together on projects and will have ironed out the wrinkles that often occur in multi-disciplinary efforts.

Although the assistance agency which hires a firm has lightened the burden of recruitment for itself, it has, in effect, simply passed the task on to its consultants.

A characteristic of all major consulting firms concerned with urban development, particularly those in the U.S. and Western Europe, is that they are, simply by virtue of the complex nature of society, extremely specialized in the jobs they can effectively do and in the staff they have immediately on hand. Even a firm that purports to have the professional skill needed to provide "comprehensive planning services" will be deficient in many of the disciplines required to bring together the diverse variables affecting the growth of the modern metropolis. It is a rare firm that can number among its staff, specialists

in traffic and transportation planning, urban economics, urban sociology, urban design, law, administration and computer technology, to list only the most obvious skills required.

As a result, in bidding for urban technical assistance projects which are supported by the U.N., for example, it is a common practice for firms to band together, so that the strengths of one can be used to complement the skills of another. These multiple arrangements offer advantages to both the participating firms and to the U.N., but the administrative complexities involved are enormous, if not for the U.N., then certainly for the consultant groups. The participants in the joint venture must agree in the first instance on a division of the fee and on the distribution of the work load. These two items alone are complex enough to absorb vast quantities of costly administrative time at the bargaining table, especially when, as is often the case, the firms involved are based in different parts of the world.

From the point of view of the U.N., the multiple consulting firm arrangement offers the participation of many more nations in U.N. projects. A firm from the U.S. or from Western Europe, when coupled contractually with a firm from a less developed region, represents the needed professional credentials that an established inter-

national reputation provides (the majority of the most well-known and active firms come from the U.S. and Western Europe) and an opportunity for a smaller and perhaps less experienced firm to be drawn into the assistance arena.

The multiple arrangement is also a pragmatic response to the extremely stringent U.N. budgets for technical assistance projects. Faced with a relatively low fee and the high financial expectations of professionals in the U.S. and Western Europe, the principal bidding firm must seek association with a firm located in a country with a lower scale of salaries and fringe benefits. An example of this is the arrangement made for the U.N. sponsored master planning effort in Karachi, which has an American firm as principal member, in association with a Czechoslovakian group.

Although the quality of the assistance effort is generally maintained through arrangements of this type--for while not as handsomely paid, the professionals of Eastern Europe are equally competent--the U.N. fee structure does force some compromises. The fees are low by any standards, and all participants operate close to the margin. As a result, the staff which is sent into the field is usually more junior than the U.N. or the recipient country would like.

And the keystone of technical assistance, institution-building, suffers. Given the long list of work

items that must be completed, the consulting firms cannot afford to grant a significant participatory opportunity and training to host country staff. In simple fact, the "advisors" must get on with the job immediately at hand: the substantive professional work which leads to the final report.

Not all technical assistance projects are so broad in scope as to warrant the full inter-disciplinary team that is usual for a UNDP Special Fund project, such as the one in Karachi. At the other end of the manpower scale, there is the single expert who is assigned to an urban planning agency or housing development board as an advisor in a specialized field, such as physical planning. This latter arrangement has been usual for the U.N. Regular Program of Technical Cooperation and for the operations of the U.K. Overseas Development Administration.

The time scale is also quite varied. An inter-regional advisor for the U.N. will generally spend only a few days in a particular country. The UNDP Special Fund projects run for several years. Between these two poles are short-term assignments, regular assignments, task force missions and evaluation missions, which, depending on the technique used, run from a few months to perhaps two years.

The assistance situation in a country can thus be

extremely complex at any given point of time, with a number of different teams and advisors from several agencies operating on different time scales. Within the U.N. family alone, there are 12 agencies that have had projects directly related to urban development in recent years, be they physical planning studies or water supply feasibility schemes. Often an agency may have more than one urban project in a country at the same time. In the professional areas of physical planning and housing, for example, the UNCHBP had two projects each in Brazil, Burundi, Iraq and Pakistan in 1970.

The country situation is complicated even further by the presence of advisors and missions in fields related to urbanization, but which are not directly "urban." These groups represent other sectoral divisions of the assistance agencies and their activities can significantly, if indirectly, affect the development of the urban structure of the country.

The work of the IBRD Agriculture and Industrial Project Divisions within their headquarters Project Group, for example, influence the urban fabric in that they deal with the closely related subjects of rural development (market towns) and industrial growth (growth poles). Some observers suggest that there is probably no department within the Bank that does not have such an impact,

although some--notably the Public Utilities Department--have had greater effect on urban development than others. And in addition to USAID's Urban Development Staff and the urban development offices within the area Bureaus, there are: the Office of Housing, the Office of Engineering, the Office of Private Resources, and other units which generate projects in community development, finance and public administration. Because of the wide diversity in objectives, timing and scale of projects, however, spatial coordination is difficult to achieve.

The faults in execution of assistance projects and in the coordination of their results cannot be laid entirely on the doorstep of the international agencies. The country contribution to these projects, often a drain on severely limited financial and manpower resources, can in itself be a counter-productive element. The labyrinth of assistance groups and counterpart government agencies is explored quite skillfully by G. Rudduck, who was a Colombo Plan advisor to Pakistan's Planning Commission. Commenting on international assistance to Karachi he says:

> There have been requests to I.C.A. for technical and commodity aid for low cost housing. Although no large scale project has materialized, assistance has been given to establish a Building Research Center. Technical and financial assistance valued at cores of rupees have been provided by I.C.A. and through Colombo Plan for water and sewerage for Greater Karachi. In 1956, the United Nations

made available an expert on low cost construction methods suitable for refugee housing. In 1957, a W.H.O. public health engineer advised on sanitation in refugee colonies and two more specialists were provided to advise on problems of rehabilitation, notably housing in Karachi. This does not cover assistance provided for port development, railways, industry, milk supplies, fisheries and numerous other subjects which have had a direct bearing on the social and economic welfare of the town.

Seldom has so much aid been concentrated in so small an area. By comparison, the other towns of Pakistan must feel like poor Cinderellas. Despite this assistance and the lapse of almost a decade, the condition of the city is far from satisfactory. It has made almost immeasurable progress during the last twelve months; but every one will agree that it still has far to go.

This is due partly to the ineffectiveness of the foreign aid. Each technical assignment is a separate project. Frequently they are only of short duration....Even when the project is a long term one, it may involve a succession of advisors over a period of years. Too often, it seems one 'advisor' or 'expert' succeeds another, to work in the same or in a related field without the slightest attempt having been made to frame their terms of reference so that there is continuity in the work or a progression towards a particular goal....

Where different agencies operate in the same field or in related aspects of the same field, it may be.... difficult to resolve conflicting views. The responsibility could only rest with the national government of the country being aided. This leads to what is undoubtedly the other major reason for the poor results obtained.

Even if the various advisors had behaved perfectly, their efforts would have been frustrated to some degree, by the division of responsibility for development in the Karachi area. The serious consequences of this situation insofar as it effects planning and development have already been mentioned.

As far as the foreign advisors are concerned, it has meant, firstly, that they are only confronted with a piece of the problem, the piece that falls within the orbit of the Ministry requesting their help; secondly, even in this restricted sphere, they

> frequently find that although they are sponsored by one Ministry they ahve to work through another which may be quite unsympathetic to their very presence. They find themselves victims of interdepartmental feuds, very much like a nut in a nutcracker.
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> In other words, a major reason for such mediocre returns from the large investment of financial and technical aid in Karachi is the failure of the government to provide a unified command of the work of planning the rehabilitation and development of this area. But to put this criticism in its right perspective it should be said that the past administrative record of Federal Capitals in Australia, the United States, Canada and perhaps other countries, also, was every bit as unhappy as that of Karachi.*

Although Rudduck's incisive comments were published in 1965, they were actually written in 1957. The experience of the last fifteen years, which has not really varied very much from his description of the situation in 1957, might warrant several additional paragraphs.

THE SCALE OF ASSISTANCE TO URBAN AREAS

Data on the expenditures for urban technical and capital assistance have until recently been sparse in the extreme. While information has been collected for some time on the total flow of official aid to the developing countries--notably by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development--relatively little work has been done in disaggregating the expenditures beyond the broad sectoral

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* Rudduck, G. Urban Biographies: Karachi, Lahore, Dacca. Pakistan Government of Pakistan Planning Commission. April 1965.

level.

This apparently is a reflection of the manner in which data have been collected and analyzed in assistance agencies and in the countries themselves. The common sectoral organizational structure of the international agencies parallels that of the usual ministerial organization at the country level. Each sectoral unit, whether in agency headquarters or in the recipient country, is primarily concerned with information that relates to its own activities--industry, power, education--and rarely are attempts made to categorize these data along spatial lines so that the scale of regional, rural, and urban expenditures can readily be compared.

The urban units of the international agencies, are, of course, interested in assessing past involvement, and have undertaken inventories of projects within their organizations. The results thus far are fragmentary, making a comprehensive view of the amounts expended difficult. But even with the obvious gaps in available information, it is possible to paint a reasonable, if somewhat fuzzy picture of international assistance expenditures in urban areas over the last decade or so.

Perhaps the most comprehensive survey, in terms of the number of agencies covered, has been done by the UNCHBP. The Center has assembled data based on responses to ex-

penditure questionnaires distributed to bilateral and multilateral agencies. The questions related solely to funds expended in international programs in the subject areas of "housing," "building," and "physical planning." Other key elements of urban assistance activities, such as investment in industrial infrastructure, or direct support to industrial development were not covered. Nor have data been compiled on related efforts of urban management, fiscal administration, and the urban component of national development planning.

There are other difficulties with the data assembled by the Center. The tabulation of expenditures is neither completely comprehensive nor fully comparable over the time spans covered, since not all of the assistance agencies reported on their activities. This is particularly true of the bilateral groups. Some agencies, moreover, reported expenditures for only one or two years in the period covered, or reported commitments rather than disbursements.

According to estimates made by the Center, $700 million was expended in the 1966--1967 biennium for international programs in housing, building, and planning. Of this total, $570 million was actually reported by the agencies, and an additional $130 million was added by the Center to account for those agencies which did not respond to their inquiry. The estimate for unaccounted expenditures re-

presents 22.5 per cent of the total which was reported. The average expenditure of $350 million annually is also approximately what the Center estimated for the 1963--1965 period.

Housing, building, and physical planning have not been the subjects of large-scale commitment on the part of the U.N. and the specialized agencies of the U.N. family. During the First Development Decade, UNDP Special Fund commitments in these fields amounted to $29.8 million, for 21 projects, having a total cost of $48.4 million. The UNDP contribution for the Decade thus represents 1.8 per cent of the total UNDP contribution in all project sectors ($1.6 billion, for 1,234 projects).*

There is some evidence, however, of an increase in the funds committed to housing, building, and planning in recent years. In 1963, expenditures of the U.N. regular budget and the UNDP were $1.35 million; by 1970, expenditures had grown to about $3.86 million. When the expenditures of other U.N. agencies are added, the totals increase appreciably. The UNCHBP estimates that funds expended from the U.N. regular budget, UNDP, Funds in Trust,

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* UNDP, "Status of Approved Projects in the Special Fund Component As of Dec. 31, 1970" UNDP, New York, 1971.

and from the budgets of WHO, FAO and ILO alone averaged $11.5 million annually in these fields during the 1966--69 period.

When other components are considered, the amount that can be attributed to urban development assistance takes on greater significance. A large part of IBRD lending, for example, has been urban-oriented. Using a broad definition, which takes into account projects for power, water, telephones, port facilities, urban expressways and industry, nearly half of Bank total lending to the developing countries has been described by IBRD as serving urban purposes. On a more restrictive definition, lending to thirteen major cities which had received $100 million or more by 1972 has totalled over $2 billion, or more than 10 per cent of all IBRD lending.*

Urban development projects have absorbed an even greater share of IDB lending. In ten years of lending activity (1961--1970), approximately 21 per cent of the Inter-American Development Bank's capital commitments have been for projects related to urban development. A total of $864.7 million had been committed to 126 projects for

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* IBRD, "Urbanization Sector Working Paper", IBRD, Washington, June 1972, p. 53.

electric power, food marketing facilities, housing, and related community services, manufacturing plants, water supply and sewerage systems by the end of 1970.* In contrast, the more recently established regional development banks have had only limited involvement with urban projects. The African Development Bank financed a $300,000 water supply and sewerage study in 1970, and several similar projects are in the pipeline. By the end of 1970, the Asian Development Bank had made three water supply loans totalling $20.5 million, and a loan of $18 million for a metropolitan freeway.

Bilateral assistance in the fields of housing, building, and planning is estimated by UNCHBP to be about five times that of multilateral aid. France, the U.K., and the U.S. are the largest donors, accounting for about 95 per cent of the total. According to information collected by UNCHBP, the U.S. commitment in recent years was approximately equal to that of the U.K. and France combined. Between 1966 and 1969, the U.S. had committed an average of $88 million annually.

The relatively large amounts attributed to U.S. involvement in urban development assistance during the

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* IDB, Eleventh Annual Report 1970, IDB Washington, D.C., 1971.

1966-1969 period may reflect a build-up of project aid and of the number of projects which were not then completed. Between 1949 and 1970, USAID provided urban development capital and technical assistance amounting to $459.5 million, for 309 projects. In 1970, $276.8, or about 60 per cent of the total for the two decades was earmarked for on-going projects, which included 49 in capital aid, and 37 in various technical assistance activities. The housing investment guarantee program was not included in these totals. *

Not very much is known about the impact of agency investments. Once an agreement has been reached between the assistance agency and the recipient country, very little analysis of the project is done, at least by the international agency, beyond what is required to monitor progress of the work. The multiplier effect of urban assistance efforts has not yet received much attention, nor have attempts been made to measure it in any rigorous way.

Some judgments can be made about the geographic distribution of assistance, although the agencies do not appear to have analyzed expenditures from this point of view. It is clear that the largest share of assistance

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* USAID, "Technical Assistance Completed Projects; Capital Assistance Completed Projects; Capital Assistance Projects "Office of the Controller, USAID, June, 1970.

has gone to Latin America.

Both the IDB and OAS budgets are, of course, earmarked, with a few minor exceptions, for Latin America. The Urban Development Division of OAS had an operating budget of 82.2 million in 1970. Six of the 13 cities which received $100 million or more from IBRD are located in Latin America, and these six absorbed more than half of the total. The USAID capital projects in housing, which have traditionally been located primarily in Latin America, account for 44 per cent of all USAID capital assistance in the urban field. An analysis of USAID technical assistance completed by the Urban Development Staff indicates that almost half of the USAID technical assistance projects completed during 1949--1970 were in Latin America. These projects accounted for 57 per cent of the USAID technical assistance expenditures for urban development.*

One could argue, of course, that Latin America has received the greatest share of funds simply because it is the most urbanized of the less developed regions. At the same time, the unique situation in Latin America

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* USAID. A Summary Report of A.I.D. "Technical Assistance for Urban Development: A Study of Agency Experience 1949-1970." Washington, D.C., AID, Bureau for Technical Assistance, Urban Development Staff. June 25, 1971.

may well have led the international community into an increased awareness of the growing problems in this field on a worldwide basis.

The absence of urban expenditure projections is notable in most agencies. Development banks do project future investment patterns, but usually along sectoral lines, such as for infrastructure development, rather than in terms of comprehensive support to urban areas.

The expansion of urban programs in the other agencies, however, is tied not only to the increase in country requests, but also to the whole structure of pledging which affects the operations of the U.N. and to the budget appropriations which control the scale of bilateral programs. Since the level of total assistance expenditure has expanded relatively slowly in recent years, it can be argued that in the short term, significant increases in urban allocations are dependent primarily on a shifting of priorities within the agencies rather than on the availability of additional resources.

In view of the uncertainty of such intra-agency trade-offs, future prospects for urban budgets cannot be gauged precisely. The groups responsible for urban programs within agencies thus find the task of projecting future directions and the scale of their involvement a complex and perplexing one. And with the limited information on the scale and impact of past activities, the develop-

ment of an effective and comprehensive strategy for urban assistance within the framework of present limited resources is made all the more difficult.

RECENT ACTIVITIES IN URBAN PLANNING

The years of international agency involvement in urban planning have not resulted in any significant departure from the conventional planning techniques for dealing with the reogranization of urban centers.

Familiar, traditional physical planning emphasis continues to dominate the structure of a number of major and current projects. A typical team usually consists, depending, of course, on the scope and depth of work required, of specialists in physical planning, urban inventory, traffic and transportation, research techniques and computer technology, architecture, and urban design, with the counterpart agency providing the required social science inputs.

These planning projects usually start with an inventory of existing physical development resources, and projections of population which, when related to selected development "standards," yield the future deficits with which the metropolis is faced. The deficits are then used as inputs to the physical plan.

The impact of population growth, national economic development, and social change are viewed in terms of

their effect on the selected development standards. In practice, there has been little attempt to integrate and synchronize the physical planning process with that of the overall scheme for national development as reflected in various sectoral plans devised at the national level.

Substantial effort is now being expended by the international assistance agencies on physical planning projects. In the U.N. alone, four large UNDP Special Fund projects in operation in 1970 dealt with physical planning for primate cities or for city-states. These projects were located in Pakistan, Taiwan, Jamaica and Singapore. In addition, in 1971 the U.N. had 21 operating projects in physical planning which were of smaller scale--usually with from one to four advisors--and which were funded through the Regular Program for Technical Cooperation.

There are forceful arguments that can be made for detailed physical planning in major urban centers. The process serves to crystallize crucial urban development issues and provides a basis for an implementation strategy directed at reducing further environmental deterioration and improving the use of available scarce resources. It also provides guidelines for future development action.

The strong emphasis of all these projects on the reorganization of a specific urban center has, however, tended to minimize detailed consideration of the hinter-

land. The metropolitan center is often viewed as an island of activity which grows, receives the brunt of migration, and which is loosely tied to regional sub-centers by road and rail links.

One of the elements often missing--perhaps a result of the original conception and terms of reference for projects of this nature--is the elaboration of a regional and national framework for urban development, which would place the metropolitan center within a comprehensive and coordinated system of urban development at the national scale. The U.N. planners for Karachi, for example, have been dealing with a region of some 4,000 square miles around the urban core but their original brief specifically excluded detailed consideration of Hyderabad, located only 100 miles away and an important sub-center within the urban constellation that exists around Karachi.

An observation that can also be made of the majority of urban physical development plans executed under the auspices of international groups is that they bear little relation to the implementation capacity of either the cities in question or of the recipient nation as a whole. The stress laid on "highest and best" land use, traffic and transportation schemes, central business district development and residential neighborhood design, seems to ignore the equally important issues of local resource

mobilization, the availability of allocations from the central government, and the modifications to the present administrative structure which will be needed to carry out the plan.

The fault apparently lies in the generally prevailing, if implicit, view that the end product of the planning exercise is a "grand design" and a final report. The questions of who will carry out the design, on what priorities and with what resources, are addressed in only vague terms and with little expectation of resolution. Implementation is, in fact, all too often considered the sole province of "other agencies." The result of this view--commonly held not only by advisory teams but the counterpart planning group--is scores of published plans, designs, and pilot project proposals which all too frequently serve little purpose other than to demonstrate that the planning teams have been industrious.

On the other hand, it would be fair to say that a "grand design" and a final report are exactly what the recipient country expects in most cases. Although some advisors suggest that the terms of reference for their project are incomplete, or gloss over critical development issues, the missing ingredients are often politically controversial and thus likely to be excluded in a project with a foreign assistance component. Resolution of

questions of resource allocation and administrative capacity can only come after prolonged exposure to the local situation; ultimately, these questions can be realistically addressed only by the recipient country.

Although the traditional line of assistance in physical planning is currently maintained, the international agencies are also exploring new avenues for future assistance. Urbanization as a component of national development planning and resource mobilization for implementation presently receive attention in the programs of the OAS, USAID, and the U.N.

The OAS Division of Urban Development has completed a survey of its Latin American member states to determine the role of urbanization in their development strategies. The purpose of the survey is to guide OAS in formulating a policy of assistance to those national level agencies which have identified urbanization as an important issue, but at the same time lack the institutional capactiy to deal with it effectively. The OAS interest would appear timely, judging from their comments on the results of the survey:

> ...In general, institutional capacity to draw up national urban development policies on the basis of an adequate knowledge of the regional and local situation seems to be limited.
>
> A preliminary evaluation of the situation gives the following picture: 6 countries have been able to create a degree of operational capacity for the formulation and implementation of urban development policies; 5 have developed a partial operational capacity for either the formulation or implementation of policies, but not for both; 7 have an inadequate operational capacity in both

> areas; and 4 have established no operational capacity for either the formulation or implementation of urban development policies.*

As presently conceived, the OAS commitment will result in the fielding of seven advisory teams to national level agnecies in Mexico City, Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. They will devote a large part of their time during 1970/72 to assembling and analyzing data on national urbanization policies.

The U.N. has responded to government requests for technical assistance in developing national urbanization policies and plans by mounting several major UNDP Special Fund projects. Saudi Arabia, Korea, Jamaica, and Venezuela have received assistance which is directed to introducing a spatial and urban component into their national development plans.

USAID has taken a somewhat different tack in its approach to assistance in Colombia. There, the major strategy for developing regional urban centers has been evolved by the national planning agency itself. USAID has provided some technical assistance in studies of migration flows, the marginal cost of urban infrastructure, and perceived obstacles to infrastructure and industrial expansion

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* OAS. Work Program of the Urban Development Division. Washington, D.C., OAS. N.D.

in intermediate-sized cities. More importantly, the USAID country mission has included an urban sector loan of more than $20 million to the GOC in its FY 1972 field submission to headquarters.

The sector loan* will be distributed among four agencies which are charged, at the national level, with the task of implementing the national urbanization strategy as stated in the national plan of development. The agencies, two rediscount units within the Bank of the Republic which finance municipal infrastructure and medium sized industries, the national planning agency, and the Colombian agency in charge of feasibility studies, will channel funds to intermediate cities and serve as a mechanism for implementation of specific projects that fall within the framework of local development plans. A portion of the loan will be reserved for needed technical assistance in planning at the local level.

This approach to assistance is unique in that it reinforces both the planning and implementation capacity of public agencies, especially as this capacity is related to a distinct strategy for regionalization and a national

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* This project is discussed in the Survey Team's report: Urbanization in Colombia.

policy for urbanization. At this early stage the success of the project is a matter of conjecture--there are seemingly endless discussions about it among the urban professionals of Colombia--but it is an effort that should be monitored carefully since it may well be breaking new ground and suggesting new directions for assistance to urban areas.

Each of the agency activities described suggests a relationship between the character of technical assistance--the terms of reference for the projects and the disciplines represented in the advisory group--and local professiona attitudes and approaches to the problems of urban development. Where a strong local tradition in town and country planning exists, requests for assistance are framed primarily in these terms. This is certainly the case for the vast majority of projects in the Commonwealth countries of the developing world.

When country professionals are schooled in more theoretical views, country requests usually include reference to regional systems of cities, growth poles, and integrated economic space. This is true in Latin America, where a great deal of research is carried out by nationals of the countries themselves. The assistance project in these areas is apparently viewed as a ready vehicle for the transference of research results to operational situations.

There are political aspects to country requests as well. The plan--at the urban, regional, and national levels--has been recognized by most governments as a necessary prerequisite to involvement of the international community in financing key projects.

From the point of view of the capital lending institutions of the international community, a plan is considered an essential step in the procedure leading to a major loan. While identifying priorities and first-phase projects, the usual plan does not, of course, provide the details needed to make a project bankable. Feasibility studies, cost-benefit studies, and engineering surveys are required as well, and are invariably outside the scope of the comprehensive plans prepared with international assistance. No matter how well done and unique in approach, the urban plan is only an early step in the long, arduous task of implementation.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN HOUSING ASSISTANCE?

The subject of housing is in many respects the antecedent of international agency involvement with urban affairs. The early policy statements of the agencies dealt first with housing and later with urban planning, which was viewed as a method of lending order to the process of sequential development of residential neighborhoods.

The frequency with which statistics on the mounting

housing deficits appear in both the professional and popular literature is a reflection, to a degree, of world-wide concern. Current debate usually carries the key words "crisis," "staggering," and "unprecendented." The scale of current and projected deficits is the subject of much discussion, and U.N. estimates of housing needs suggest that 1.4 billion new units will be required in the next three decades.*

Technical assistance to recipient countries has fallen into the broad categories of design innovation, construction technology, and improvement of housing institutions. All of the agencies which provide technical assistance have supported projects in each category. Capital assistance is excluded primarily by USAID, through their loan and investment guarantee programs and by IDB, operating primarily on U.S. government contributions. But with the exception of carefully selected, and small scale, pilot capital projects, the other agencies have only ventured into the housing field with technical assistance.

Low cost housing design has been a concern from the earliest days of assistance projects, resulting in a torrent

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* U.N. General Assembly. Housing, Building and Planning: Problems and Priorities in human settlements, Report of the Secretary-General. A/8037. New York, U.N. August 21, 1970. p. 27.

of widely circulated published studies. The issues of optimum room size, arrangement, and circulation flow reappear in each study, and there is endless, if fruitless, discussion of the breakthrough solution. Row houses, core houses, skeletal houses, expansible units, walk-up flats, high rise buildings, have all been designed, redesigned, and analyzed. The striking feature in all the design work is the marked similarity; if not in esthetics, then in the conception of what the minimum house should contain. And, as designed, it invariably contains more than the vast majority of the low income groups can afford.

Site planning is a second and related design issue. Here the arguments focus on ideal arrangements of buildings, roads, and utility lines. An important consideration is the appropriate density of development, since any appreciable increase in the density of dwelling units results in a reduction in the average land infrastructure cost. Again, the dialogue is endless, with each study resulting in a different recommended density, often having limited bearing on the realities of the present urban condition. After surveying the housing situation in 16 Latin American countries, a USAID advisory team developed standards for squatter areas which included: a location 30 minutes commuting distance from employment centers, a maximum density of 40 families per net acre, minimum lot size of

1075 square feet, and a maximum 60 per cent lot coverage for one-storey construction.* A subsequent report sponsored by USAID points out that these standards may be difficult to achieve in the short term, in view of the limited resources generally available for housing and suggests the setting of initial standards with regard to the specific conditions of each case, rather than in the abstract.**

The subject of construction technology is treated with an equal out-pouring of effort. Specialists in building techniques and professional engineers have for years been working on the problem of arriving at ideal roof spans, structural element shapes and sizes. There have been roof schemes (where the new resident fills in walls between columns), pre-cast element schemes, self-help schemes, and schemes which are based on the use of indigenous materials such as bamboo and mud-brick. The varied approaches to construction usually result in pilot projects but have not appreciably alleviated the "crisis" in housing.

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* U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of International Affairs. Proposed Minimum Standards for Permanent Low-Cost Housing and for the Improvement of Existing Substandard Areas. (Ideas and Methods Exchange No. 64). Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. June 1970. pp. 12--16.

** Alfred P. Van Huyck. Planning Sites and Services Programs. (Ideas and Methods Exchange No. 68). Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of International Affairs. July 1971. p. 38.

There are, in addition, the institution-building efforts. Loans and technical assistance have been given to capital marshalling organizations, to building research stations, to international documentation centers, to institutions doing market research and to housing Ministries. But to all of these organizations the problem of building dwelling units on the scale needed by the low income groups, within the present constraints of land and construction costs, has been intractable.

Although not as effective as one might wish, these areas of international agency involvement have undoubtedly made some contribution to the solution of the housing problem. And commitment to assistance is evident in the agency programs. In 1970, the U.N. alone had four UNDP Special Fund projects and 11 projects financed through the Regular Program, dealing with housing design, building material research, and improvement of construction technology. USAID continues to concentrate primarily on its loan and investment guarantee programs, which by 1967 had covered 15 countries with the former and 18 countries with the latter in Latin America alone. The loan program has provided seed capital to savings and loan associations, and support to national banking systems that finance housing. USAID has also supported the Foundation for Cooperative Housing which, in seven Latin American countries, East Africa, and India,

provided technical assistance to national cooperative housing movements.

Each of these efforts is directed to driving the cost of housing down to a level within reach of the low income groups. Much of the work has been concerned with "minimum" standards acceptable to the advisors of the international agencies and to professionals in the recipient countries which are too expensive for families at the lower end of the income scale.

For all of the design work, support to housing institutions, and experiments in building technology, the rapid growth of "transitional" urban settlements has not been affected appreciably. The number of people living in the barriadas, favelas, bidonvilles and bustees of the world is still growing faster than the rate of urban population increase as a whole. It is not unusual for 25 per cent of the urban population to be living in transitional settlements, and the U.N. suggests that these areas are growing at a rate of between 12 and 20 per cent annually. At 12 per cent population doubles in less than seven years; at 20 per cent, population doubles in four years.*

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* U.N. Committee on Housing Building and Planning. Rehabilitation of Transitional Urban Settlements, Report of the Secretary-General. E/C. 6/115. New York, U.N. August 17, 1971. p. 17.

Emphasis on architectonic solutions has not gone unquestioned among the agencies. The 1966 U.N. regional seminar on "Development Policies and Planning in Relation to Urbanization" is viewed as a significant milestone in the field of housing because its findings posit that the transitional settlements are manifestations of a positive development force, and are in any case unresponsive to the imposition of traditional approaches in design, planning and financing.

As a result of this conference and the work of other professionals *, a growing climate of world opinion suggests that an environmental approach to housing assistance, i.e., one which concentrates on the development of land so the families can themselves build housing units by whatever means immediately available, will in the long run be more appropriate than present architectural solutions which emphasize the individual dwelling unit. The belief is that the resources needed to provide shelter can be mobilized within the low income groups themselves, if families are granted security of land tenure and allowed

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* See, for example, Charles Abrams, "Squatter Settlements: the Problem and the Opportunity," Ideas and Methods Exchange No. 63, Office of International Affairs, Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., April 1966.

to build makeshift structures which can be improved over time as family income grows.

The "site and service" scheme has become an area of discussion among the international groups. IBRD has recently undertaken preparatory work for a scheme and several others are envisaged in Senegal. During 1969 and 1970, the UNCHBP carried out preliminary missions in connection with the possible establishement of pilot programs for the improvement of transitional urban settlements in Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

There was general agreement within the 12 nations covered by these exploratory missions that the problem of transitional urban settlements was important, and that their rapid growth, both in terms of the number of people involved and the urban land consumed, was extremely evident. By mid-1971, however, no requests for U.N. assistance had been received, through the proper bureaucratic channels, although pilot programs had been formulated in several of the countries visited. Apparently the low priority which is often accorded housing, perhaps not in public statement but in the development strategy of nations, has carried over into the special case of transitional urban settlements.

One conclusion that can be reached from this brief assessment of agency activity in housing is that the traditional and accepted lines of assistance continue to absorb the

major share of available resources. The pressing needs of the lowest income groups have not been met, but at the same time there is some resistance to new concepts, such as projects with a site-and-services orientation. At the agency level, and particularly among the bilateral groups, this may reflect a concern with "image." One housing advisor to a bilateral agency, for example, although intellectually sympathetic to the site and services concept, was opposed to such projects on the grounds that the agency would ultimately be criticized for creating "slums." At the country level, traditional preoccupation with subsidized housing schemes and show-piece projects has diverted attention from possible innovative techniques in transitional settlement areas.

Whatever the reasons, it is evident that beyond what has been traditionally accepted, the future directions for agency involvement with housing are, at best, tentative at this time.

URBAN MANAGEMENT

The administration and management of urban areas has not been emphasized by international agencies in their assistance activities. Projects falling under the broad category of "Public Administration" have been supported as integral parts of country programs, but these projects have primarily

been concerned with the development of administrative apparatus and manpower for the national and state levels of government. To some degree, the stress placed on the administration of the largest units of government reflects an attitude prevalent in much of the developing world today: that prestige and power lie not in the lowest levels of the government hierarchy, but rather in the sectoral ministries or in state governments.

There are, of course, other reasons for the emphasis on higher levels of government. In some cases the human resources needed to fill crucial posts at the national level simply do not exist in the countries themselves. Requests for assistance are thus usually framed in terms of the need to develop administrative capacity in these higher echelons. When establishing priorities, the requesting government will invariably place preceived national level requirements over those of the urban area.

The weight thus placed on national administration tends to over-balance the capacity at lower levels. As a result, the usual developing country model--strong central government which controls the bulk of development resources; weak local government, dependent on central government transfers for major public works and land development schemes--is maintained and reinforced.

Public administration is itself a field that has

only recently come of age in certain international agencies. During the First Development Decade, for example, the administrative aspects of development within the U.N. fell to a Public Administration Branch of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Following a report of a First Meeting of Experts in 1967, and a subsequent ECOSOC resolution wherein the council "...requests the Secretary General to elaborate more specific objectives and programs in this field, in close collaboration with the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations concerned,"* the Branch became a Division.

The role that the U.N. sees for itself in urban administration during the Second Development Decade is worth looking at, since it points up the gap between the rhetoric of resolutions and the realities of scarce resources.

In discussing the challenge to public administration during the 1970s, a second Expert Group, which was convened to inter alia examine and make recommendations on public administration objectives and programs for the Second Development Decade, points out:

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* United Nations. Public Administration in the Second United Nations Development Decade. New York, U.N., Public Administration Division, Department of Economic And Social Affairs, 1970. p. 96.

> Changes in population and environment, such as involved in urbanization and the shift from a subsistance to market economy, create the need for changes in governmental organization and functions. A governmental system designed for a predominently agrarian society may not be suitable for one that is largely urbanized, nor is it likely that an administrative system which was designed for a city of 100,000 will be adequate for an agglomeration of millions. Mere organizational expansion does not meet such problems; new organizational and managerial arrangements have to be made to deal with them effectively. Major changes in institutions, methods and personnel will be needed to apply new findings of science and technology to public affairs and to assure optimal use of national resources for economic and social development. Governments must recognize the need for bold action to improve their administrative systems if they are to fulfill their responsibilities in the 1970s.*

The Group goes on to propose a wide ranging international program which includes administrative reform, personnel development, financial administration, management techniques, and the application of computer technology.

The program suggested for regional administration and local government focuses on the objectives of strengthening national agencies and institutions for improvement of regional and local administration; developing effective systems of decentralization and central-local relations; improving administration for regional development and administration of rural local authorities; improving urban administration.**

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* U.N., Ibid. p. 39.

** U.N., Ibid. p. 76.

Although the Public Administration Division has broadly reflected the Expert Group proposals in its 1971--1976 work program which includes ten urban-related research projects to be undertaken at headquarters, less than half--four--of the projects can be accomplished with the existing staff. And according to the Division, some of these might be performed "...inadequately, and with some delays."*

This is not surprising when ambition is compared with resources. In 1970, the headquarters' professional staff of the Division numbered 15, actually one less than its strength in 1964. The Section for Local Government was allocated two positions, with the remaining posts divided among units dealing with technical assistance, personnel administration, organization and methods, and development administration. The urban forum of the Division, as represented by the two headquarters staff positions, is thus clearly unable to carry out a work program at the scale needed to fully realize its objectives.

The Division has, of course, provided management assistance to urban areas over the past decade. There were three such projects in 1960; by 1965, the number had grown to 20, and in 1970, there were 31. These have been primarily one man or small team projects, funded under the Regular Program of Technical Cooperation. They have included local government training, finance, and surveys of

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* U.N., Ibid. p. 150.

local government systems.

In addition, the Division staff collaborated with the Institute of Public Administration in its international study of administration in 13 cities, by sponsoring a seminar in 1964 for participating scholars and by participating in inter-agency discussions.

The largest U.N. project in the field of municipal administration and development provides assistance to FUNDACOMUN, the Foundation for Municipal and Community Development. FUNDACOMUN is a semi-autonomous agency of the government of Venezuela, set up to promote and expand a nationwide program of municipal improvement.

Under the FUNDACOMUN program, municipalities are given assistance in urban planning, cadastral surveys, legal matters, and public service improvement. FUNDACOMUN also has a capital assistance program covering housing and basic urban service hardware, such as garbage collection equipment.

This U.N. effort--which in 1971 was the only Special Fund project in the field of municipal administration--includes the provision of five advisors with specialities in training, organization and methods, public works administration, urban planning, and cadastral survey. The project became operational in 1969 and is slated to run to 1973. FUNDACOMUN reported that during 1969, the U.N. project helped to train 988 officers from 120 Venezuelan municipalities.

This represented a coverage of 71 per cent of the municipalities in the country.* USAID has provided assistance to FUNDACOMUN, as well, primarily in the form of a $30 million loan which has been used to support the FUNDACOMUN housing program.

The development banks will, under the terms of a loan or credit, sometimes provide technical assistance which is geared to the improvement of project administration. While contributing to the expansion of a recipient municipality's administrative capacity--usually by setting up a semi-autonomous operating agency--the technical assistance project is directed primarily at insuring that loan funds will be administered in accordance with bank criteria.

The development banks often depend on the technical assistance agencies to provide the advisors needed for these capital-project-related activities. In 1969, for example, PAHO's technical assistance section which deals with the administration of water supply and sewerage services provided 34 consultant months to Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, and Uruguay in connection with loans made by IDB.**

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* U.N., Ibid. p. 139.

** PAHO. Report of the Director 1969. Official Document No. 102. Washington, D.C., WHO, PAHO. August, 1970. p. 46.

PAHO has established the practice of coordinating its advisory activities regarding community water supply and sewerage with those of IBRD and IDB. This permits "...programming which is compatable with the specific needs of the agencies assisted and the contractual requirements of the lending institutions."*

PAHO has its own program of technical assistance in the administration of municipal water supply and sewerage services as well. Requests for assistance are usually in excess of the resources available. In 1969, for example, PAHO covered all of Latin America with only 78 consultant months of advisory services. Its projects for that year were concerned with new systems and procedures, policies, and practices in the fields of accounting, budgeting, organizational structure, procurement and supplies, invoicing and collections, personnel, data processing, public relations, water rates and meters, systems operation and maintenance and "other administrative areas."**

Although resources for urban management assistance are particularly scarce, agencies have been forced to cover an increasingly larger number of related management areas. As the major metropolitan areas of the developing

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* PAHO. Ibid. p. 46.

** PAHO. Ibid. P. 46.

countries grow, present management problems will certainly become more acute. If assistance efforts in the future are to adequately meet increasing needs, and if, as is probable, total resources available continue to be scarce, then a re-ordering of priorities would appear warranted--both nationally and internationally--so that the particularly difficult task of managing the low-income city is more fully recognized in agency programs.

AGENCY RESEARCH AND INTERNATIONAL TRAINING NETWORKS

The bulk of the research supported by international agencies is "operational," directed to improving action in the field and at headquarters, and to the creation of an awareness of critical urban issues at the national level. In contrast with invesitgations conducted primarily for their contribution to general understanding of urban processes, operational research has more limited and immediate objectives. Its results are used as a basis for policy formulation or as a springboard into an as yet untried program area. By its very nature, operational research must be timely, and the results must be addressed to the functional issues at hand.

The present practice within agencies is to establish a research program as part of its overall work program. These investigations are then executed either by an in-

house staff or by specially commissioned consultants. A third source is various expert group meetings and seminars sponsored by the agencies, where invited practitioners and members of the academic community air their views on subjects of mutual interest. The U.N. is particularly noted for its sponsorship of these gatherings which serve not only to exchange information, but also to crystallize perception of common problems and possible action.

In-house research efforts are limited by the manpower and time available, over and above what is required to provide back-stopping for field staff, monitor projects, and evaluate country programs. Even where a research cell is established within an agency's urban section, such as the Research and Development Branch of the UNCHBP, the austere staffing and financing usually lead to the commissioning of research outside of the agency itself. The procedure is in many respects more efficient than a completely in-house effort, in that consultants can be retained for short periods and for specific tasks, in accordance with the availability of research funds.

Some agencies depend on consultants more heavily than others. This is the case for USAID, which has, for example, channelled a portion of its research funds through HUD's Office of International Affairs in support of an important series of research and "state of the art" papers. By

1971, more than 70 separate studies had been commissioned in this Ideas and Methods Exchange series. The subjects are wide-ranging; some more recent ones cover urban administration, site and service housing programs, industrialized housing techniques, and innovative credit instruments for developing countries.

The U.N. agencies are assisted in their research efforts by the work of the U.N. Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). UNRISD includes among its recent activities a worldwide research program on regional development, designed to bridge the gap between general studies with presumed universal validity and country-specific case studies. The UNRISD program calls for eight continental and sub-continental studies of regional development experience, each prepared by a local group of professionals. The study areas are South and Southeast Asia, Latin America, North America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, USSR, Africa, and Southwest Asia.

The UNCHBP has also taken the worldwide approach in its recent research project on land use and land development policies. Again, regional reports have been prepared by local consultants, and the Center is currently trying to identify common threads to evaluate the impact of land policy on development.

These studies are particularly important to focus

international awareness on urban and regional development at the country level. Discussions at the continental level usefully illustrate the range of current problems and techniques and serve to generate interest and concern within the countries. From the point of view of the international agencies, the studies can be helpful in shaping assistance programs. At the country level, however, they will have an impact on national policy only to the degree that their broad findings can be adapted to the contemporary and country-specific development situation.

The range of subjects that presently interests the international agencies is perhaps best illustrated by a listing of the current areas of particular concern to IBRD: municipal financing, tax systems, and expenditure patterns, as these bear on the process of urban development; urban and inter-urban structure and economics; analysis of methods for more closely equating private and social urban development costs; problems and policy alternatives posed by urban automobile use; least-cost means of financing average commuting times; mass transit finance and the effects of major urban terminal facilities; site and services development and the effect on housing costs of variations in space and construction standards; urban land policies; the stimulation and assessment of new techniques in urban construction and development; analysis of urban employment characteristics and interdependencies.

A fuller discussion of these appears in the recent IBRD sector paper on urbanization. For present purposes it is sufficient to note both the comprehensiveness of the IBRD agenda and the plans for implementation in view of limited staff resources. The Urban and Regional Economics Division intends to touch a good deal of this ambitious program primarily through analysis of IBRD project experience and by keeping abreast of research activities in other agencies and institutions. Recognizing that collaboration with other agencies can avoid dissipation and duplication, the IBRD plans to undertake limited original research, designed to fill gaps not covered by others and to support project activity directly.

As noted, a training program for counterpart staff is a usual component of technical assistance projects, and these programs represent a major vehicle of the institution-building process. As presently structured, the training component provides the funds needed to set up short courses within the recipient country, and to facilitate individual study abroad, usually at an institution in Europe or North America.

The stress laid on support to individual trainees in the past--"Fellows" in the U.N. program, "Participants" in the usage of USAID--has over-shadowed an equally important facet of the training process: the need for support

for the institutions that provide the training, so that they can tailor a course of study to the special needs of students from developing countries. According to recent practice, trainees choose from a wide array of institutions available to them, an existing training program related to their particular professional area. The course content, however, is not necessarily related to the unique conditions of the developing world, since individual institutions in Europe and North America are not usually set up to address the specifics of development.

As a result, the trainee, having received advanced training, finds himself familiar with urban problems that are usual in the more developed regions but which may have little relevance to his home situation. Sending trainees to dispersed institutions at intervals too infrequent to warrant the establishment of courses more directly related to the realities of the developing countries has led to the view that training might be better accomplished within the developing countries themselves.

This is precisely the position taken by the United Nations, and is best exemplified by the organization's worldwide program of research and training in regional development. Under it, existing development centers in selected countries would be identified and linked in an international network. According to the U.N., the ultimate

aim of the network is the strengthening of country facilities for "...efficient operation of regional development from concept and analysis to planning, impelemntation and evaluation of results; effective support of national policies and programs in regional development through international comparative study and research training and information; training of cadres for comprehensive regional development planning and implementation; systematization of the collection, collation, processing, storage and retrieval of meaningful and reliable data on regional development in the world."*

The program has its genesis in a 1965 ECOSOC resolution requesting the Secretary General to develop a research and training program in regional development. In 1966, an Advisory Committee of Experts identified 11 regional development projects, which were subsequently visited and evaluated in terms of their possible contribution to the program. These were: the Aswan region in the United Arab Republic; The Awash River Valley Development project in Ethiopia; Wadi Jizzanand, the Eastern and Western Provinces in Saudi Arabia; the Ghab and Euphrates Projects in Syria; the Lakhish Region and Upper Galilee in Israel; East Pakistan; the Chubu Regional Project in Japan; the Gal Oya River project in Ceylon; Plan Lerma and Plan Oaxaca in Mexico; Bio-Bio and Concerte Regions in Chile; the

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* U.N. Advisory Committee for the Research and Training Program in Regional Development. U.N. World-Wide Program of Research and Training in Regional Development. ACRD/5. New York, U.N., September 1-4, 1970.

North East Region (SUDENE) in Brazil.*

The projects in Japan, Israel, Mexico and Brazil were selected to get training activities under way. By 1971, only the Japan and Israel centers were operational. Both Lerma and SUDENE have received assistance from U.N. advisory teams, but it appears that neither project has yet developed to the point where it could be utilized effectively as an element in the worldwide network.

Pakistan has suggested that its Center for Regional and Urban Development be designated as part of the world network. It has received support from the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), and a subsequent UNDP/SF allocation. The role that the Pakistan Center might play is at this stage uncertain, since according to the U.N., "...tripartite negotiations are still under way."**

If the U.N. had its way, still another element would be added to the training activities of the international network. In 1967, two U.N. missions visited Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Italy, France, and the

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* U.N. Advisory Committee on Research and Training in Regional Development. Progress Made Under the UN World-Wide Program of Research and Training in Regional Development. ACRD/1. New York, U.N. March 12, 1970. p. 1.

* U.N. Advisory Committee on Research and Training in Regional Development. ACRD/1. op. cit. p. 15.

Netherlands with the purpose of determining how the regional development experience of these countries might be fed into the network. They suggested the establishment of a system of roving teams, manned by professionals from the European countries, which would visit the developing countries to "assess and advise on regional planning and development."*

As presently conceived, the network would form a three-tier hierarchy of research and training centers. National centers, concerned with the regionalization of national development objectives, policies and planning, would provide in-service training and extension services. Several multi-national centers--those concerned with more than one country in a particular geographic region--would carry out comparative studies of the processes of regional development and provide training for high-level policy makers, administrators, and planners. For a higher level of training--leading to master and doctoral degrees--the U.N. proposes to support one or more international centers which are affiliated with recognized universities.

The concept of an international network of regional development training and research centers is attractive in several respects. The efforts of individual countries have been hampered by the scarcity of available professionals

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* Ibid. p. 12.

with training and experience in the specifics of sub-national development. Where such expertise does exist, it is usually along one or two professional lines, in either the physical or the social sciences. Rarely can a multi-disciplinary team, equally well-versed in the dynamics of regional development as is the basic disciplines, be brought together in a single country. Nor have there been opportunities for the systematic exchange, review, and analysis of regional development experience in countries sharing similar problems.

An international network along the lines proposed by the U.N. can make a significant contribution, particularly by providing the organizational framework needed to make research more effective and more closely related to development action programs. The U.N. scheme is a model of simplicity and clarity. As is the way with plans, however, some modifications were necessary during the initial implementation stages.

A 1970 U.N. paper which discussed proposals for establishing the worldwide network stated:

> In the search for a viable approach to establishing a network of research and training centers to promote regional development, there is at present no better opportunity than to examine the experiences and possibilities in Asia and to formulate some guidelines which will help in realising a system for that region which can influence research and training developments in other geo-

graphic regions.*

The paper goes on to point out that while a number of national centers had been recently established in Asia, "...it seemed more effective in responding to the pressures of urgent demand for training, to offer it an economically more advanced setting in Asia, rather than postponing the programme until an adequate institution could be developed in a less developed Asian country--which may take a decade or more."**

This observation led to the establishment of the Chubu Center in Japan as the Asian Center for Regional Development and the first multi-national element in the region. Operating on contributions from the U.N. and the Japanese government, the Center has instituted a program of assistance to establish a system of national and multi-national centers in the region, as well as assuming the expected research and training responsibilities. As other centers become operative, the burden of training planners and administrators will probably shift to other countries in the region.

In some respects these early attempts at implementing

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* U.N. Advisory Committee for the Research and Training Program in Regional Development. ACRD/5. op. cit. p. 9.

** Ibid. P. 10.

the network concept in Asia resemble the now familiar training model which places the trainee from a developing country into a more economically advanced setting. The effectiveness of the Asian Center will depend on the relevance of its research and training program to the developing world. In 1970, teaching materials were developed around experience in the Chubu region and most lecturers were Japanese scholars and practitioners. Whether this can be made meaningful to participants from less developed countries--in 1969, Brazil, Ceylon, Korea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam were represented at the first training course*--might well be the subject of future evaluation.

It can be argued that if resources were available, the U.N. goal of a worldwide network could be best achieved by developing and supporting, in the first instance, national centers, and eventually linking these into an international framework. This approach offers several advantages.

A national institute of urban and regional development provides the government with a source for evaluating the impact of urbanization on the development process within each country. The national institute ultimately could serve an important role in formulating policy and programs for sub-national development.

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* UNDP. "First Training Course at Regional Development Centre". Pre-Investment News, March 1969. N.Y., U.N. p. 3.

Moreover, strengthening national level institutions is more congruent with the present aims and objectives of the countries themselves. The discussions held at a 1970 Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group conference on urban development, for example, demonstrate acute awareness of research and training needs and priorities at the national level. They also exhibit a marked degree of resistance to the establishment of another regional center for urban studies:

> The question as to whether a regional center should be established turned out to be by far the most controversial subject and resulted in a rather inconclusive ending of the Conference... The Asians strongly opposed the establishment of a 'Regional Center for Southeast Asia Urban Studies'...(and) in essence stated that at this time they did not want a regional center, they would not support it and without their support it could not succeed...Asian countries are interested in developing their own national institutions concerned with urban affairs. This desire is no doubt based on the opinion frequently stated at the Conference that many urban development problems are country specific. Another factor was the feeling that regional institutions tend rather quickly to evolve into national institutions.*

Institutions in Malaysia, Thailand, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Japan, Singapore, Vietnam, India, Indonesia, and the United States were represented at the conference, as were several of the international agencies. The

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* USAID. SEADAG Urban Development Seminar on "Research Priorities for Urban Roles in National Development", Penang, September 8-12, 1970. Washington, D.C., USAID. November 4, 1970.

resistance that the notion of a regional center generated is to some degree understandable, primarily for reasons which center on the related issues of location and management.

The institution or project which is identified as the nucleus of an "international," "regional," or "multinational" center reaps the benefits that come with international agency recognition and financial support. More funds are available for research, advisors arrive on the scene, and local staff strength is invariably increased. Not surprisingly, the locational choice that is made by international agencies, such as the U.N., is the subject of a good deal of competition. Pakistan's interest in having its Center for Regional and Urban Development designated as a member of the international network stems, at least in part, from the fact that international assistance was available for such an undertaking.

Perhaps more important is the view from the international center: in theory, they draw faculty, students and key staff from the countries within their respective spheres of influence. In fact, however, the presence of a relatively well-endowed research and study center tends to attract students and faculty primarily from that country; the international character which is sought gives way to the sheer pressure of local numbers. In essence, the

international center becomes a national center with a few students and faculty from other countries, and with some international support. This has been the experience with the U.N. sponsored Asian Center--it is a Japanese agency dealing with the development experience of a Japanese region, is staffed by Japanese, and receives the support of some U.N. advisors.

The management and control of the center is also likely to become the province of the host country. As conceived by the U.N., the network of international centers would be supported in part by Special Fund allocations. But a substantial part of the financing would come from the host country itself. Indeed, the level of U.N. support is hinged to the contribution of the host country. Under the U.N. scheme, an international center could not be established without the inclusion of substantial local fund components within the financing plan. The establishment of the Asian Center was an uncertainty until the Japanese government approved an allocation for its maintenance.

In these circumstances the host country is in a position to influence the control and management of the center, which is thus likely to devolve to nationals. This also reflects the fact that the centers are to be built on the existing nuclei of on-going institutions. It is unlikely that present financing patterns will change

appreciably in the years to come, nor is it likely that host governments will transfer control of their institutions to a truly international management group. The national character of the centers, manifest in the composition of faculty and in research subject matter will thus be reinforced in their administrative structure.

While the concept of an international network is intellectually appealing, it is apparent that practical difficulties are likely if implementation is based on a strategy of initially concentrating on regional and international centers. Aside from the problems of location and finance, resistance from professionals in the field will be difficult to surmount. By focusing instead on the national level of training and research, current professional attitudes are reinforced and supported. Concentration on the national level is thus merely a shift in emphasis from the long-term strategic goal to the more immediate--and attainable--short run tactical objectives.

As the national centers grow strong, it is also likely that they will establish their own international network, without external impetus. Such a network facilitating the interchange of views and experience will be based on the professional links created among staff members of the individual national centers. They will be forged by mutual respect for the quality of research and training in

sister institutions. If they are to serve international purposes, these linkages cannot be forced upon the centers by the imposition of an administrative framework conceived in the headquarters of the assistance agencies.

The international network which springs from the individual strengths of national centers is not without precedent. An example exists in Latin America, in the Committee of Urban and Regional Studies of the Latin American Social Science Research Council. There are nine institutional members. The professional ties among them have developed over many years and were formalized when CLACSO was established in 1967. In addition to national training and research functions, the members of the CLACSO Committee provide assistance and advice to other member centers on request. The Committee also developed an interchange program for researchers, fellowship recipients and faculty of the member institutions.

The international context of network such as CLACSO is continental, rather than worldwide. As the proposals for the U.N. network point out, other centers operating at the apex of a worldwide hierarchy are needed to facilitate the interchange of research results, students, and faculty among continental networks. In addition to these clearing house functions, the apex centers would serve as the locus of research and training activities which require unique

resources and which are too specialized in content to be effectively handled by the continental networks.

The choice of apex center locations should depend on the existence of an institutional structure--both academic and operational--that can contribute to meeting the research and training needs of the developing countries. This criterion is met, to some degree, by Europe and North America, but perhaps more importantly, they are attractive because of their historic role in advanced studies and research and because they provide a neutral ground on which participants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America can exchange views and experience without regard to national rivalries which might erupt in a developing country.

The concept of an international network has distinct advantages over the more fragmented approach that has characterized international efforts in the past. It has not yet been possible to exploit as fully as one might wish, although it appears to offer a system for utilizing the scarce resources available for training and research most effectively.

SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

A retrospective view of international assistance to the urban areas of the developing world leads to the familiar conclusions that this aid has been sporadic, meager in

relation to the scale of the urban predicament throughout the developing countries, and dispersed thinly over many countries and even more projects.

Technical assistance efforts have reflected unfounded confidence in the adequacy of the standards and techniques of the more developed countries. Techniques have been applied without significant adaptation to the unique conditions that exist in the developing countries, and have not proved as effective as originally envisioned. Capital assistance, although important to individual cities, has been limited in scale and the impact of completed projects quickly dissipated by rapid urban population growth.

Research effort supported by the agencies seems to have been directed primarily to the creation of national awareness of critical urban issues and has not yet been fully applied to the formulation of agency programs. Attempts to meet the requirements for trained manpower have resulted in reliance on existing training programs in the more developed countries--at high cost, with low output in relation to need, and with some degree of irrelevance to the particular country situation.

The traditional approach to assistance, the scale of involvement, and the effects that technical and capital aid have had on the urban environment have not, however, gone unquestioned within the international agencies. One

of the more striking features of current thought on development has been the relatively sudden emergence of interest in the problems of urbanization. The beginning of the Second Development Decade served as an appropriate milestone for the review and assessment of past performance and the identification of new directions for development assistance.

The growing interest in urbanization stems from the convergence of a number of strands of thought and concern, some of which are specific to the developing countries, and others which are more global. The concentration of population in urban settlements during the decade of the sixties is on scale alone, unprecedented in human history. At the same time, there has been a convergence of the familiar sectoral interests that bear on the process of urban development, with a burgeoning flow of requests for assistance for infrastructure and housing development. This has led to a sharpened perception of the increased need for urban assistance and of the mounting pressures on existing urban facilities.

To some degree, the pace and scale of urbanization over the last two decades have taken both the international agencies and the developing nations by surprise. Neither nationally nor internationally is there yet a full and adequate understanding of the implications of this massive

and unprecendented demographic transition, still in its early stages. Thus far, only limited attention has been given to the dimensions and development implications of surging urban growth.

The formation of new urban staff groups and the present search for new policy and programming approaches are responses to the growing concern that development efforts of the past have not proven as effective as originally envisioned.

The increasing recognition among the agencies of the inadequacy of international resources and scarcity of technical skills in the face of the scale and complexity of the problems involved is obviously increasing their willingness to seek inter-agency collaboration, even at its lowest level of the exchange of views and experiences. All recognize, of course, the unlikelihood of a single, united international assistance program in urban development, covering the whole range of individual concerns of the many multilateral and bilateral agencies with varying interests, varying skills, varying scales of resources and varying purposes.

It is clear that the international response to urbanization in the developing countries during the Second Development Decade will continue to cover a very wide range of activities. Among the most likely to receive

most attention over the next decade--or so it seems from our inquiries and discussions--are the following:

- The continued strengthening of the new staff groups specifically concerned with urbanization and increased liaison among them. Consortia arrangements are not new to the agencies, although their activities in the past have not been directed to city-specific situations.

- Interest in increased liaison is apparent in several of the discussion papers on urbanization recently prepared by the staff groups. An Inter-Agency Committee on Housing and Urban Development already exists, in which USAID, IDB, ECLA, the UNCHBP, PAHO and the OAS have participated to achieve coordinated action in technical assistance and in the organization of common activities in Latin America.

- Increased recognition of the need to intensify the awareness of the growing crisis of urbanization through such mechanisms as the inclusion of specific professional skills in urban and regional planning in missions mounted by the development banks and in technical assistance teams assigned to national economic planning

agencies.

- Increased attention in the agencies to the possibilities of setting individual capital development projects, supported by external finance, within a broader framework of intersectoral coordination as a whole for the particular city concerned.

- A continued concentration on the three basic sectors of housing, transportation, and water supply--and, particularly on new techniques with low-income housing such as site and service settlements. Some agencies suggest the need for a review of technical standards in all aspects of urban infrastructure, so as to lower capital costs and secure maximum advantages from the limited resources available.

- An increasing recognition that more efficient implementation can only be produced by substantial governmental reorganization in urban areas and a much higher level of managerial ability than is presently available--but, equally a recognition that this is the most complex and unfavorable area for international assistance because of its political implications.

- A much more active interest in policy-oriented research with particular attention to:

  . the rural-urban relationship, especially in examinations of the role of smaller towns as urban support centers for rural development.

  . urban unemployment and particularly the absorption of rural migrants into the urban economic system.

  . the design of urban data systems as a basis for decision-making.

  . the relative costs of urban infra-structure in cities of differing size and with different economic bases.

  . the financing of urban development, through modifications to the fiscal system.

  . studies of the social organization and development potential of slum and squatter settlements.

- An increasing willingness to support training programs located in the developing countries,

and further attempts to create a global network of regional training and research centers.

More conferences, workshops, seminars and symposia on urbanization within and outside the developing countries are likely to be supported since this requires minimum effort and quickly generates a visible product in conference papers and reports.

There can be little doubt that the international community as a whole will take a much more active and urgent interest in the urban dilemmas that are becoming so evident throughout the developing countries. The massive funds that would be available for capital development projects on the scale required are simply not available. The emphasis must be on technical skill, mature experience, and human resourcefulness.